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ABSTRACT

This monograph is intended to inform curriculum writers, evaluators, and consultants about the High School Political Science Curriculum Project's first year of work. The main purpose of the project is to develop, test, and disseminate a two-semester program entitled "Comparing Political Experiences." The program, designed to serve as an alternative approach to existing twelfth-grade courses in government, provides students with concrete experience in political participation. Contents include discussions of the following: (1) the purpose, underlying assumptions and instructional objectives of the program; (2) the specific content of the Comparing Political Experiences curricula; (3) the Competency-Based Instruction method used in the course; and (4) the curriculum development process. A bibliography is also included. (Author/RM)

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COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

Judith A. Gillespie
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This monograph is a product of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project. The High School Project is one component of the Political Science Course Content Improvement Project for Elementary and Secondary Schools sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education with support from the National Science Foundation.

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PREFACE

The publication of this monograph on political education is an important event. It is significant because it is the first book in what hopefully will become a series of publications on political education sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. Secondly, it is the first major product of the Political Science Course Content Improvement Project for Elementary and Secondary Schools. Finally, it presents a fresh approach to political science education in the schools, one which we believe will interest political scientists, social studies educators, classroom teachers, and school officials.

It is significant that this monograph is being published by the American Political Science Association. Since its founding, the Association has shown interest in elementary and secondary school instruction about politics and government. It has established committees and task forces to explore how the Association can best work with schools; it has published reports and studies on civic education; at regional and national meetings, it has sponsored sessions that focus on political science education in the schools; and recently, it created the Division of Educational Affairs which has responsibility for promoting political science instruction at all educational levels including grades K-12.

In its effort to expand the involvement of political scientists in educational research, development, and service at the pre-collegiate level, the Association established the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education in April, 1970. The Committee was charged with two primary responsibilities: to provide the profession with a continuing assessment of the discipline's relationship with elementary and secondary education; and to implement a long-range strategy through which resources available in the political science field might be more effectively mobilized in support of improved political science education at the pre-collegiate level.

Shortly after the Committee was established, the U.S. Office of Education granted funds to establish the APSA Political Science Education Project. This project, directed by Lee Anderson and Richard Remy, became the staff arm of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. Soon the Committee became active in three general areas: 1) elementary and secondary school curricula, 2) pre- and in-service education of teachers and school administrators, and 3) basic and applied research on the socio-political learning of youth, on the political sociology of schools, and on educational change.

The Political Science Course Content Improvement Project for Elementary and Secondary Schools is the principal effort by the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education to influence elementary and secondary school curricula. This project, which began in 1972 as a result of a grant from the National Science Foundation, has two major components: the Elementary School Political Science Curriculum Study Project and the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

The primary purpose of the Elementary School Political Science Cirruculum Study Project is to publish a set of guidelines to direct the future development of instructional materials in political science for use in elementary schools. The project's approach to the study of politics takes advantage of children's natural political life within the contexts of

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families, schools, and peer groups while retaining a concern for universal experiences and perennial problems in the political life of mankind. The responsibility for preparing the curriculum guidelines is shared by Lee Anderson, Northwestern University, Mae King, American Political Science Association, Richard Longaker, University of California, Los Angeles, Jewel Prestage, Southern University, Charles Quigley, Law in a Free Society Project, Richard Remy, Ohio State University, Shelby Smith, Atlanta University and Richard Snyder, Ohio State University. The Mershon Center, Ohio State University, supports the administration of the project.

The High School Political Science Curriculum Project is based at the Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University. Judith Gillespie, Howard Mehlinger, and John Patrick co-direct the project. Ms. Gillespie and Mr. Patrick, together with Robert Hanvey and Jean Wagner, are responsible for the development of the instructional materials; Mr. Mehlinger is responsible for diffusion of the project's materials; Samuel Christie is the project evaluation co-ordinator.

The main purpose of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project is to develop, test, and disseminate a two-semester program entitled *Comparing Political Experiences*. The program is designed to serve as an alternative approach to existing twelfth-grade courses in government. The emphasis should be placed upon "alternative approach," for the project's task is not to up-date or improve existing high school textbooks. Nor is the project engaged in adapting approaches found useful in colleges and universities in order that they might be understood by typical high school students. Rather it is an elaborate test of the hypothesis that one can begin with a set of assumptions about the purposes of formal instruction in civic education and create a program that meets those purposes while simultaneously transmitting knowledge and ways of knowing that lie on the cutting edge of the political science discipline. With an eye on the future, especially on the changes that are occurring in high schools, the project intends to provide an alternative program that is distinctly different from those that exist.

The project has been underway for nearly two years. The first year was devoted almost exclusively to conceptualizing the project and designing the products it will eventually produce.

This monograph is one result of the project's first year of work. It reveals the choices that were made by the project directors as they developed a rationale, established project goals, created a conceptual framework to support both inquiry and action, chose an appropriate instructional strategy, and planned future activities. Documents of this type are indispensable to curriculum development teams who employ a large number of full-time and part-time personnel. It is an efficient way to inform curriculum writers, evaluators, and consultants about the project.

Nevertheless, it would not be necessary to publish the project's conceptualization and design decisions in this form in order to serve internal needs. But publicly funded curriculum development projects have responsibilities beyond obligations to staff. One is the expectation that they will provide regular and full public disclosure of their work. Unlike textbook publishers who often attempt to hide their curriculum innovations until their products are available for sale, curriculum developers are expected to offer their ideas, if not their products, to the public domain. Not only does such disclosure aid potential clients, but the project staff also profits from the responses it receives to its plans and products. Therefore, the decision to publish this monograph was prompted by an obligation to share the project's work with others and a desire to receive reactions to the project's ideas from political scientists, social studies educators, classroom teachers, and school officials.

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This book may appeal to college professors of political science who have responsibility for undergraduate instruction and teacher training. If a large number of high school students were to satisfy the objectives of this program, college professors would greet much differently prepared freshmen in their introductory courses than they do today. Furthermore, the skills required to teach *Comparing Political Experiences* are not typically part of teacher education programs in colleges and universities. Some political scientists will be interested in the conceptual framework, in the way that political science knowledge is linked to political action, and how the program hopes to make comparisons across a variety of political systems ranging from schools through communities, states, nations, and transnational organizations.

In Part I social studies educators will find a somewhat unique argument regarding the central purposes of formal schooling for social education, an argument with implications beyond high school courses in civics and government. In addition, some will be stimulated by the basic teaching model that supports the instructional design of the program, by the various techniques to be employed, and especially by the use of the school as a laboratory for testing propositions about politics and for providing opportunities for students to acquire concrete experience in political participation.

Hopefully, classroom teachers and school officials will discover provocative and useful ideas in this monograph. For example, a traditional argument for social studies instruction in schools has been the notion of preparing students to play roles as responsible citizens in a democracy. The authors offer a competing idea, the belief that social self-fulfillment should be the primary justification for social education programs. The project also calls for a somewhat different way of thinking about high schools as sites for political education, thinking that goes beyond the empty rhetoric of schools as "authoritarian places" but offers instead ways that high schools can be utilized more powerfully for civics instruction.

We are grateful to Judith Gillespie and John Patrick for preparing this important contribution to political education. We are also grateful to the National Science Foundation for making it possible for the American Political Science Association to publish it.

Howard Mehlinger and Richard Snyder
APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to thank the members of the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee for creating the opportunity for us to undertake this monograph and for the ideas and advice they offered while the document was being written. Members of the committee include: Richard Snyder, Ohio State University, Chairman; Lee Anderson, Northwestern University; F. Chris Garcia, University of New Mexico; Fred Greenstein, Princeton University; Howard Mehlinger, Indiana University; Jewel Prestage, Southern University; and Harmon Zeigler, University of Oregon. We also wish to thank Evron Kirkpatrick and others on the APSA National Office staff for their efforts to facilitate the preparation and publication of this document. Special acknowledgements are due to Lee Anderson, Chris Garcia and Harmon Zeigler for their continuing interest and contributions to our work.

Many people have contributed valuable ideas and criticism to the development of the monograph. Through presentations, conferences and long talks with individuals our ideas have been shaped, clarified and, in some cases, considerably changed. We cannot possibly thank everyone whose contribution made an impact on our work in such a short space, yet the authors would like to at least briefly acknowledge the contributions of the following people: Cleo Cherryholmes, Donald Cunningham, Ivor Davies, Lee Ehman, Shirley Engle, Janet Eyler, Edwin Fogelman, Norman Furniss, Robert Hanvey, Willis Hawley, Richard Merelman, Fred Newmann, James Rosenau, Henry Teune, Stuart Thorson, and Maurice Woodard.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the support of the National Science Foundation, not only for making it possible to carefully develop a conceptualization piece for this curriculum project, but also for their continuing efforts to improve social science education in elementary and secondary schools. The points of view expressed in this document should not be taken as those of the Foundation, or those of the Committee or the individuals whose names are listed here. Although their contributions were invaluable, responsibility for the ideas in this piece rests with the authors.

J.A.G.
J.J.P.

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COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

INTRODUCTION

Rapid changes in theory and practice in many fields have tended to produce periods of identity crisis. Social studies instruction is not atypical in this regard. As a result of intense research and development in curriculum design and instruction over the last decade, a rich variety of viable alternatives are being advocated and implemented. This wave of alternatives has tended to produce in its wake some serious questioning concerning the general purpose of schooling. Philosophers and practitioners alike have begun to realize that schools cannot do everything, that schooling can have many meaningful purposes, and that genuinely difficult choices of direction confront those concerned with citizenship education.

One way to tackle the problem of choosing directions is to look positively toward the creation of more alternatives. The possibilities for important advances in many vital areas of social studies instruction are far from exhausted. For example, programs geared to provide extended treatments of many minority groups or various types of social problems are scarce indeed. The expansion of alternatives could potentially cover many gaps and provide a full array of programs tailored to service diverse sets of needs. According to this line of thinking, the concern over coherence in social studies instruction would be displaced by a full set of programs designed to meet the needs of a wide variety of school populations.

Another way of confronting the problem focuses on slicing through available alternatives and integrating various elements of these alternatives in new ways. This method results in programs which can maximize the advantages of several alternatives in the teaching of fundamental competencies. A sociology program, for example, could combine the teaching of conceptual knowledge and basic social skills and gain reinforcement for both goals from the integration. In this way, coherence would be maintained by a set of programs designed to service heterogenous school populations in new and significant ways.

Surely, both the creation of new alternatives and the integration of existing alternatives are important to the growth of the social studies education field. Yet, compared to the alternatives that have been generated, few attempts have been made to determine how an effective integration might be made. The purpose of this document is to demonstrate one way that a meaningful and unique program for high school government instruction can be developed by selectively integrating various elements of alternative approaches to social studies education.

The foundation for developing such a program rests on several different conceptions of the purpose of schooling. Surely one of the most established sets of ideas in the field is that the chief purpose of schooling is the promotion of systematic and reflective inquiry necessary for understanding life in a democratic society. Under this purpose, schools act as major promoters of basic information and skills necessary for informed and intelligent inquiry. The curriculum thus reflects essential concepts, skills, values, and frames of reference which promote active questioning and systematic problem-solving. Over the last decade, instructional materials have become increasingly sophisticated in promot-

ing this approach. The national projects in sociology, anthropology, and geography as well as those in politics have incorporated the best disciplinary information available into usable curriculum packages. Few would argue that the concepts, skills, and value orientations represented by these projects are irrelevant to good citizenship.

Nevertheless, some civic educators believe that promoting effective inquiry is too narrow a purpose for social studies education. They argue that the purpose of schooling should be to prepare students for real-life situations by equipping them with a set of social skills which are useful for everyday living. Advocates of this position have stressed instructional foci which range across basic literacy requirements, vocational traning, and general skills in informed decision-making.[1] This alternative attracts the support of many because citizenship is, indeed, based as much on the actions prople take as it is on a set of ideas. In coping with complex social situations, students need basic social skills which will aid them in becoming effective social actors.

In still another dimension, some claim that neither inquiry nor action skills are universal requisites for all citizens. This group believes that the purpose of schooling is to provide for individual self-exploration. Their major premise is that for students to function in any complex set of social situations, they must have adequate opportunities to learn about themselves, to pursue their own interests, and to recognize their own needs. Out of this thinking, the free school movement, variants of individualized instruction, and value confrontation over controversial issues have grown.[2] Through such efforts the process of schooling has become more flexible, and many students have for the first time explored their own values and interests in a structured classroom setting.

A fourth variant is in its infant stages as we enter the 1970's, but is nonetheless an important consideration for developers of any social studies program. In this case, the purpose of schooling is defined as providing students with actual "real-life" experiences rather than training them to be prepared for future life situations or developing formal capacities. In order to accomplish this purpose, many have argued for taking students out of the classroom and into the life of the school and the community. These types of programs range from the Parkway Program in Philadelphia to the Westport system in which students participate directly in the governing decisions of the school.[3] The hope of these projects is that students will learn by participating in ongoing social and political processes and that they will transfer this learning more easily to everyday life situations.

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[1]Carl Bereiter, "Schools Without Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 42, August, 1972; Cleo H. Cherryholmes and Paul R. Abramson, "A Normative Theory of Political Education," *Teaching Political Science* 1, October, 1973; James S. Coleman, *How Do the Young Become Adults?* Baltimore, Maryland: Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University, May, 1972; Shirley Engle and Wilma S. Longstreet, *A Design for Social Education in the Open Curriculum*, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

[2]Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education*, New York: Random House, 1970; Fred Newmann and Donald Oliver, *Clarifying Public Controversy: An Approach to Teaching Social Studies*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1970; Sidney Simon, *et. al., Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students*, New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1972.

[3]*Parkway Program*, Leonard Finklestein, Director, 1801 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Susan Jacoby, "What Happened When a High School Tried Self-Government?" *Saturday Review*, April, 1972. Though the multiplication of these programs has been great recently, roots can be traced back to the late 1950's. See especially, Citizenship Education Project, *Laboratory Practices in Citizenship: Learning Experiences in the Community*, New York: Citizenship Education Project, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1958.

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Each of these alternatives provides significantly different foundations for a social studies program. Each has also been relatively successful in some fundamental ways. The question becomes one of how important components of these alternatives might be integrated to produce a program that capitalizes on the strengths of several alternatives without diluting its overall instructional power. It would seem that the instructional power of such a program would be best safeguarded if major components were chosen according to two criteria: 1) their fit to the general instructional goals of the program; and 2) their combined contribution to a useful and powerful integrated program. The goals of the program thus serve as general guidelines for inclusion and exclusion of components and the "combinability" criterion serves to preserve the overall integrity of the program.

There are four general goals which direct the design of the program presented in this volume. First, the program is intended to teach high school students about political experiences. Although it carries within it important historical, sociological, economic, and anthropological dimensions, the program focuses on a multi-disciplinary approach to *government instruction*. Second, the program aims at providing a systematic overview of political life which will contribute information useful for making generalizations and explaining common political experiences. In this way, the program promotes the development of useful frames of reference not only for understanding political experience, but for applying political principles to everyday situations.

To ensure the application of political principles to everyday situations, two other general goals need to be included which focus on transition from inquiry into action settings. The third general goal thus becomes the promotion of analytical, methodological, and participation skills necessary for the successful pursuit and application of political knowledge. The development of these skills ensures that students have the basic competencies necessary to produce and use political knowledge in their own everyday political life situations. In addition, a fourth general goal is needed which promotes the acquisition of useful experience in applying political knowledge and skills. In other words, students need to develop a backlog of relevant experience in order to form habits of using knowledge that will transfer beyond the life of this particular program.

These four goals act as guidelines in the selection of components from various alternative approaches to social studies instruction in several significant ways. The promotion of a systematic overview of political life which has useful applications for everyday political situations necessitates the inclusion of a disciplinary frame of reference commonly found in programs utilizing the inquiry approach. Yet, because of the concern for the applicability of political knowledge, the problem is not one of defining salient disciplinary knowledge *per se*. It is rather one of determining what concepts and generalizations are most useful in practical political situations. In this way, the program includes systematic political knowledge without attempting to cover the political science discipline in any significant way.

The skill focus of the program also draws on several alternatives without fully encompassing any single approach. Stress is placed on the development of basic competencies, some of which are core skills of most political science endeavors, while others are basic applied skills such as decision-making or group organization. Some skills also involve the exploration of individual values and role expectations. Yet, we have no intention of promoting the development of either political science professionals or politicians. Nor do we intend to support the shaping of students' personalities through the inclusion of extensive self-examination activities. Rather, we intend to promote basic competencies which will aid students in successfully analyzing and participating in political situations. Just as teaching students to read does not dictate what types of reading material they will

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consume, teaching them basic political competencies does not dictate whether they will be scholars or activists. The program thus attempts to define a set of basic competencies which borrow from many approaches depending on their contribution to the development of students' abilities to translate political knowledge into a wide variety of everyday political experiences.

As we borrow selectively from discipline-oriented inquiry, competency development, and individual exploration approaches, we also include some components of the social action approach. One of our goals is to provide students with sufficient experience in analyzing and acting in political situations that they will develop habits of participation which will transfer into their everyday lives. Many social action programs provide meaningful participation experiences for students as they study particular community issues or programs. While some of this participation is contagious, most of it is not. It is the goal of this program to provide experiences on a continuous basis which are not as geared to resolving short-run issues as they are to refining and extending basic political skills. The experiences thus serve as useful applications of skills rather than as policy remediation efforts. As such, the experiences are not geared to promote social causes, but to encourage the application and transfer of basic political competencies.

The program is thus a selective integration of several components of existing alternatives based on the fit of the components to a set of general goals. The effective integration of components is more than an additive process. Some assurance needs to be given that solid linkages can be formed between components which will contribute to the overall instructional power of the program. These linkages tend to create a fusion of various components which produces some unique elements and a quite different total course of study.

At least three significantly "new" elements are developed out of the linkages designed for this particular program. First, as is reflected in its title, *Comparing Political Experiences*, the program maintains a unique focus on knowledge and skill development. The program is based on a substantive framework through which explanations of common political experiences such as political maintenance and change are explored by analyzing a set of patterns of political resources and behavior such as political influence, ideology, decision-making, and leadership. These experiences are compared across many types of political systems at the organizational, local, national, and international levels. Students are taught to analyze, evaluate, and apply their knowledge to everyday political life. The explanatory framework, the use of systematic comparisons across levels as well as types of political systems, and the application of knowledge to everyday political life are all new aspects of knowledge and skill development which the program offers.

Another unique feature of the program is the creation of a school political laboratory. The laboratory does not have easy analogues to typical science or language labs or simulated settings frequently found in school settings. The school is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making are utilized both for study and participation by students. In this way the students' everyday life experiences in the school in peer groups, clubs, and school governance activities are tapped for multiple instructional purposes. Students can apply knowledge, develop analytical and methodological skills, learn to participate in group contexts, and gain valuable habits of participation through long-term participation experiences. The lab becomes the focus for providing "real" experiences for students that are not only important to them, but directly transferable into other contexts.

The program is also unique in its instructional aspects. Just as the program attempts to teach students knowledge about political life, it also is structured to offer them con-

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trolled participation experiences in which they can put their knowledge to use in making decisions, organizing groups, and communicating information. Such direct, systematic linkages between inquiry and action experiences have rarely been attempted in a social studies program. Instruction in this program is based on providing a structured learning sequence, flexible group activities for application of knowledge, and a series of long-term student participation experiences in which students put their knowledge to use on an everyday basis. Through these major instructional components, the program will offer a unique integration of significantly different types of learning experiences.

These three core elements of the program have emerged as a result of attempting to integrate trends in civics and government instruction. The purpose of the remainder of this volume is to outline rather concretely how these elements form a total instructional program. First, the major assumptions and objectives of the program are explained, providing the reader with an explicit set of normative and empirical guidelines for what the course is about. Second, the content of the program is specified. The major political experiences to be studied, the conceptual framework, and the applications of the framework to school experiences are outlined in this section. The third section treats pedagogical issues and sets the instructional format for the program. Finally, the last section provides an overview of plans for developing materials, evaluating outcomes, and implementing the program in schools.

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PART I.
ASSUMPTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM

Every effort at curriculum development necessitates making some assumptions about student behavior, the role of instruction, and the use of human and physical resources in schools. The nature of these assumptions can have profound effects on the shaping of instructional materials and methods. Suppose, for the moment, that we agree that the overall purpose of social education is to promote students' social self-fulfillment. A developer with training in the psychology of learning could assume that this general goal would be met if students were encouraged to articulate their values and needs and were given maximum flexibility to pursue their own interests. Under this assumption, the developer would structure a curriculum in which individualized instruction was paramount. With the same goal in mind, another developer with training in the sociology of learning might well assume that what students needed were "group" experiences of a wide variety of types in order to understand the social limits of individual interests. The second developer would structure a curriculum to teach students sound information about the system of which they are a part and how to make use of that system in order to realize individual and group needs. Neither developer is necessarily right or wrong, but it becomes very clear that underlying assumptions make a real difference in the shaping of a curriculum development effort.

Assumptions also become important because it is from them that the instructional objectives for a program are derived. A tight linkage between assumptions and objectives will ensure that the materials developed in a program will carry out the purposes with which the developers are concerned. In this way they will not be concerned with using content or media for its own wake, but only as it facilitates and reinforces the goals they have for student learning outcomes. Therefore, if the general purposes of a program are well-defined, if the assumptions are clear, consistent, and workable, and if the instructional objectives are operational measures of those assumptions, then students have a maximum opportunity to attain the goals of the program through systematic instruction.

A. The General Purposes of the Program

Four general purposes of the program were introduced earlier: 1) to promote an understanding of basic political experiences; 2) to develop a systematic framework for viewing political life which would aid students in explaining and participating in political situations; 3) to encourage the development of analytical, methodological, and participation skills which will aid students in effectively coping with political situations; and 4) to provide a foundation of basic political experiences which will enable transfer of knowledge and skills beyond the scope of the program. It was stated that none of these purposes necessarily supported any particular set of individual values or social and

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political norms. Yet saying this does not mean that the integration of these purposes is not designed to promote an overriding goal. Indeed, because political education is a goal-oriented process, some overriding image of individual behavior is embedded in any effort to develop an instructional program. The problem is to make that image as explicit as possible.

Basically, this program is designed to promote multi-dimensional individual growth by developing a set of basic political competencies which allow individuals to become full participants in political life. Without such competencies, individuals would not have a full range of choice concerning alternative ways of attaining their goals. In other words, they would not have the fundamental knowledge or skills which would enable them to act based on their aspirations. Thus, while the program is not designed to promote particular individual or social values, it is designed to encourage the development of competencies which will increase individual growth. Yet, if the program supported individual growth without some basic concern for group dynamics, it would stand in violation of its subject matter. Politics is a group phenomenon whether the group is a small, self-selected committee or a nation state. Therefore, individual growth must in some way be integrated with some image of group behavior. Accordingly, the program needs to focus on those basic competencies which contribute to group growth and development. It is those competencies which intersect to promote both individual and group growth which become the core competencies of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.

The overriding purpose of the program, then, is to increase individual and group growth simultaneously by developing basic political competencies. Ideally, an individual acting in the model of the goal of the program would pursue synergistic relationships between his own actions and the group's goals. This type of activity was perceived by Ruth Benedict in the following way:

> "[Some] societies have social orders in which the individual by the same act and at the same time serves his own advantage and that of the group. . . not because people are unselfish and put social obligations above personal desires, but when social arrangements make these two identical."[4]

Ideally, then, individuals pursuing the program would be encouraged to perceive and pursue activity based on the recognition of a fundamental identity between individual and group growth.

With this identity established as an ideal, it is now possible to stipulate that the general overriding purpose of this program is to increase students' capacities to pursue this identity, or to increase what we will term their social self-fulfillment. Social self-fulfillment can be defined as: making choices and taking actions which, within the constraints and opportunities of a group context, increase both individual and group growth. Under this definition, social self-fulfillment is considered to be a dynamic, developmental goal which is not attained in any final sense of reaching perfect identity between individual and group growth in all actions. The very idea of "growth" prohibits this final state. Rather, individuals under the program will have achieved its goals if, in the long-run and over a series of group situations, they pursue goals which increase individual and group growth.

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[4]Abraham H. Maslow, "Synergy in the Society and in the Individual," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 20, 1964, p. 156.

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The goal of social self-fulfillment has been supported in research efforts by both social psychologists and educators. The contribution of the relationships between individuals and groups to individual development is embedded in most social psychological research.[5] The difference between the concept of social self-fulfillment presented here and those developed in the literature is that we treat social self-fulfillment as a behavior pattern rather than merely a psychological state. In this sense, increases in social self-fulfillment depend on how an individual acts and not on the disclosure of his motivations.

In the education literature, James Coleman has probably been the chief advocate of recognizing the group-related aspects of the education process.[6] His recognition of the effects of peer and classroom structure on student growth undergird many of the assumptions some educators make about the effects of group interaction on learning. Our purpose is to operationalize many of these findings for an instructional program which promotes neither individual self-seeking behavior nor consensus on societal norms, but rather a dynamic interaction between individual and group growth.

Social self-fulfillment thus appears to be a viable and important goal for social studies instruction. Yet it would be foolish to believe that such a multi-dimensional and encompassing goal can be fully promoted by a single politics course. To fully promote the goal, students need to pursue it through a long-term series of experiences which focus on many different dimensions of individual and group life. While the program attempts to be multi-disciplinary, it cannot completely cover all the necessary ground. That is why the goal in this program is limited to creating awareness of a fundamental identity between individual and group growth and to providing some basic competencies and experiences which will encourage the implementation of that awareness in group action.

Considering the definition, support and limitations of social self-fulfillment as it is promoted in this program, it is possible to make some assessment of the type of individual who would have moved toward this goal through the program. If students were given a choice situation, they would carefully consider alternative courses of action (or inaction) and, among other criteria, determine whether or not the alternatives increased both individual and group growth. The students would apply their own values to the alternatives as well as determine the effects of any alternative on group goals. They would then determine which alternative best satisfies both sets of goals. We could say that if, across many such choice situations, individuals chose to act on the alternative which best satisfied both sets of goals, then they would be pursuing social self-fulfillment.

Note that the goal is not dependent upon "winning" in a policy decision, but rather choosing to act in a certain manner and then actually following through on that action. This is why the creation of competencies becomes important. Students must not only learn to make decisions which promote social self-fulfillment, but they must be able to execute their decisions to the best of their ability. Both components of the process are heavily dependent on the development of analytical, methodological, and participation skills and some plain, concrete experience in choice situations.

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[5]Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, New York: Harper, 1954; Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1968; Edgar H. Schein and Warren G. Bennis, *Personal and Organizational Change Through Group Methods: The Laboratory Approach*, New York: John Wiley, 1965.

[6]James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, New York: The Free Press, 1961.

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If this is an image of a person pursuing social self-fulfillment, then what distinguishes it from other images? Two contrasting images may be useful here. One is a profile of a manipulator, a person whose choice is based only on the promotion of his or her own goals. Most people face many competitive situations in which this role predominates. Working for grades in cases in which the grading curve supports a limited number of high scores is one such situation. Striving for promotions or advancing special interests are others. The second image is a profile of a conformist, a person who makes choices based totally on the norms established by a group. Common examples of such conformity occur when individuals yield their better judgment to peer group pressures or when group participation becomes ritualized to the exclusion of individual initiative. Neither of these images represent goal-fulfillment according to the guidelines of this program.

These rough images are different, but it is difficult to determine how one could empirically measure whether or not students were increasing their social self-fulfillment. As an overriding goal, of course, it serves an important function in the development of guidelines and more concrete objectives for the program. Yet it would be helpful if we could develop some rough empirical measure of its increase. Clearly, both individual and group goals can be determined in at least a significant sample of choice situations that students face. A relevant sample of such choice situations will be built into the participation experiences provided by the program. In these structured settings, a range of possible alternatives can be determined. Students can then report their decisions *and* the justification for them, permitting the "measurement" of the degree to which their choices tend to maximize individual and group goals. This evaluation can be coupled with a determination of whether or not students exhibit the skills necessary to carry out their decisions. In this fundamental way, we can have a basic determination of the pursuit of social self-fulfillment.

Thus the normative commitments of the program are clearly outlined by defining and delimiting the concept of social self-fulfillment. The goal seems viable and important because it promotes awareness and action which links individual and group goals and growth. Therefore, it appears to be a *worthy* goal. It also appears to be a *measurable* goal, one that has some rough empirical referents. Both of these attributes provide some justification for choosing it among a wide range of alternative program goals.

There are other justifications which are as important as those just mentioned. One justification is immediately evident. Social self-fulfillment is an *attainable* goal. Because it is developmental, all students can achieve it to some degree. This is important because it is not obvious that many goals of social education have this characteristic. Attempting to promote a democratic society through schooling has been proved to be extremely difficult by most social research. The rules of aggregation of individual behavior are far too complex to posit what individual characteristics youth must be taught in order to support a particular social and political system.[7] Teaching values such as commitment, freedom, and equality has proved to be equally difficult because understanding and valuing are difficult to translate into measurable behavior patterns. Thus, social self-fulfillment, because it is not based on supporting a certain political system or a particular attitude, but rather indicates a developmental life-style pattern which is flexible across contexts, becomes an attainable goal which is both measurable and workable in an instructional program.

Another reason why the goal is important is that it is *comprehensive*. It combines both the growth of self and social groups into a formula which is justifiable across all

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[7]Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

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individuals. Neither a minority of students nor majority norms are served by the concept. The focus on academic goals in instruction has long serviced those of particular backgrounds and aspirations. In the same sense, goals based on societal needs have tended to support the *status quo*, not only inhibiting understanding of differences, but also students' capacities to change as the needs of society surely change. Thus the concept contributes a focus which is both widely applicable to all students and inclusive of diverse types of concerns.

As social self-fulfillment is both attainable and comprehensive, it is also a goal with *multiple implications* for the role of instruction in the school setting. Operationalizing the concept necessitates a reconsideration of the roles of students, teachers, and school resources in student development. As a group concept, it forces instruction to take account of the group context within which students live and to utilize that context for instructional purposes. In short, the use of the concept requires developers to consider the school as a total system and forces them to do more than construct a self-contained curriculum package which can be slotted into a particular classroom. Curriculum efforts have long been critiqued for lack of consideration of these aspects of school life. The social self-fulfillment concept makes school social and political life an integral part of curricular concerns.

B. Underlying Assumptions of the Program

As was stated earlier, defining the general purposes of a program provides some basic guidelines for instructional design, but still leaves open many alternative ways to proceed. Indeed, the process of specifying instructional guidelines is much like that of opening a jigsaw puzzle. One begins with a more-or-less well-defined picture on the front of the box and what appears to be an infinitesimal number of pieces inside. The problem is how to put the pieces together to produce the picture. People solve such puzzles in different ways: some by ordering pieces of color, some by putting together parts such as the border, some by identifying major themes or settings. In each case, the player is concerned with systematizing a problem and finding relationships between parts.

Some parts of this program have already been surfaced, such as the need for knowledge and skill development and the provision of basic political experiences. Yet these parts need to be brought together in some systematic way to produce a viable instructional program which will facilitate social self-fulfillment. One way to systematically lay out the framework for an instructional program is to outline the assumptions on which the program is based. If these assumptions are well-defined and grounded, they will form a solid structure which will relate various components into an instructional whole.

At least four general types of assumptions are relevant to a program which is designed to promote social self-fulfillment: 1) assumptions about student behavior and the outcomes of certain behavior patterns; 2) assumptions about the instructional content and methodology necessary to promote student behavior changes; 3) assumptions about the environmental parameters within which instruction takes place; and 4) assumptions about the implications of the instructional program for schools. Basically, the relationships between these four sets of assumptions form an approach to social studies education which underlines the specific content and methodology utilized in the instructional program. These relationships are demonstrated in Diagram 1.

The diagram demonstrates how the general assumptions can be linked to form a framework for instruction. In brief, the diagram states that students' pursuit of social

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self-fulfillment is based on effective activity in participant roles, that instructional content and methodology must be geared to producing student competencies for effective participation, and that both the informational and social environments must be utilized to aid that instruction. In short, the school as a total social-organizational environment must be utilized in order for social self-fulfillment to be promoted. If social self-fulfillment is increased, it will have multiple implications for student participation, instruction, and the social-organizational environment of the school. Each of the primary assumptions for increasing social self-fulfillment and its implications for schools will be discussed below.

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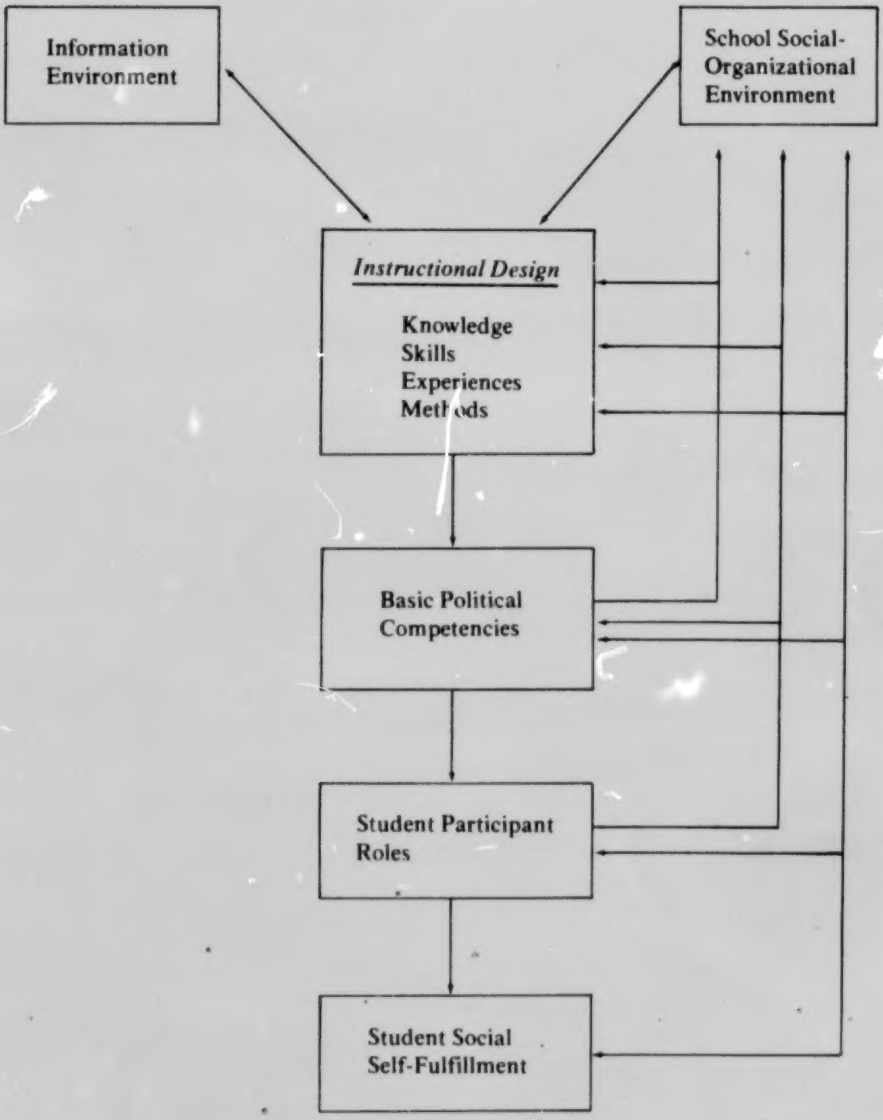
DIAGRAM 1: AN APPROACH TO SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION



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Assumption #1: Student engagement in multiple participant roles in school life will aid in promoting social self-fulfillment. Without active, group-oriented participation, *social* self-fulfillment would be impossible. Participation is not defined narrowly as office-holding, nor, on the other hand, as necessarily "activist." What is meant is that students are able to realize their own goals only by acting in combinations of leadership, followership, and decision-making roles in group contexts. Groups, too, depend on participation for goal achievement. Thus, neither individual nor group goals will be realized unless students make a habit of participating in multiple group settings. The range of these settings is broad, from school sports teams to student councils, from church groups to official positions in communities. The premise is that if students take on conscious, informed, skillful engagement in such activities, they will find multiple avenues for increasing social self-fulfillment.

However, the assumption that participation is a requisite for social self-fulfillment is not very powerful if participation experiences are not carefully selected. Many students have spent a day in the mayor's office, the welfare administration, or a meeting of the school board without achieving much participation experience of lasting value. For that matter, some students participate in school activities apathetically; most find little meaning in these experiences. Clearly, students need to develop roles which are continuous rather than transient, active rather than passive, and meaningfully relevant to them rather than artificially imposed. Without meeting these minimal criteria, the linkage between participation and social self-fulfillment remains very fragile.

The linkage will also be considerably fortified by the selection of participation experiences based on their potential for contributing to the direct application of basic knowledge and skill competencies taught in the program. Selecting a group context in which students can exercise decision-making skills after they have been exposed to principles and some practice in decision-making would seem to facilitate transfer and relevance of that particular participant role. Doing likewise for skills of leadership, planning, communication, and task implementation would provide a foundation for a wide range of role experiences in which most students would not normally engage. By careful selection of experiences both for their reinforcement of instruction and their variety, students would have many opportunities to contribute to individual and group growth.

Even with carefully structured contexts, two other conditions play an important role in ensuring participation experiences which lead to increased social self-fulfillment: motivations and group dynamics. No matter how well-structured the activity or how relevant the goal, any group experience depends on the generation of sufficient and appropriate motivations and incentives for participation. The incentives for the kinds of participation experiences outlined above are multiple. As part of an on-going program, students will find participation an important means of applying and understanding major ideas in the program. Much of the participation will be structured as team work through which incentives of peer interaction are high. The activities will also be largely self-selected. Students will choose from a wide range of activities those which are most relevant to their interests. These conditions are coupled with the fact that, on the average, students tend to find such activities "better than school" and their incentive for breaking regular routines is high. If these motivations are bolstered in the program and extended into real concern for responsible contributions to group goals, then the program should have a sufficient foundation for sustaining motivation.

Students will both work in teams in their participation experience and work in natural group contexts. Therefore, it becomes important to ensure that the dynamics of both types of groups are productive. The program will focus on teaching students basic skills of working in different types of team and natural settings so that a productive group dynamic can be maintained and extended. By focusing both on individual motiva-

tions and group dynamics, the program should be supportive of linking participation and social self-fulfillment.

The research evidence supporting the linkage between participation and social self-fulfillment is both meager and diverse. School research has not traditionally included studies of student participation efforts beyond descriptions of "extra-curricular" activities. Yet some seminal participation studies in the area of simulated game settings have indicated positive motivational results from participation experiences.[8] Also, some direct studies on the effects of participation on student learning indicate that students achieve higher satisfaction and learn to work in groups, make decisions, and take on leadership roles from participation experiences.

In their study, *Big School, Small School*, Barker and Gump found that in small schools in which students participated both more frequently and in more responsible positions than in large schools, students were more satisfied with the development of their intellectual and participatory competence, their ability to take on challenges, and their skills in working in groups. They found that when students in both large and small schools occupied more central positions in group activities, they emphasized satisfaction with challenging situations and their action valence increased.[9] In short, they found that participation tended to increase both satisfaction and the tendency for students to take meaningful actions to fulfill their needs. McPartland also found participation produced direct results in terms of both academic and social goals. He summarized his findings as follows:

> "Participation can come in different forms, and each extra element *adds* a potentially different effect on students. Participation to increase social integration affects students' general satisfaction. If participation also adds new peer group mixes, new student norms will be developed, often emphasizing academic interest. If decision-making experiences are added, responsibility and decision-making skill will be increased, with more successful academic pursuits resulting as a by-product."[10]

Thus, some case has been built from several sources that participation can contribute substantially to student social self-fulfillment. If student participant roles are supported by an instructional program and relevant motivational and group conditions, then the linkages should prove even more powerful.

Assumption #2: For effective participant roles to be developed, instructional content and methods need to systematically promote students' political competencies. Some students acquire participant roles rather naturally because they are especially interested in school or community governance. Yet, for most students, the conditions for promoting effective participant roles are not created in any setting—the family, the community, or the school—in their formative years. Adelson and others have demonstrated that high school students do have the capacity to develop political competencies necessary for

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[8]Sarane S. Boocock and E. O. Schild (eds.), *Simulation Games in Learning*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1968.

[9]R. G. Barker and P. V. Gump, *Big School, Small School*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964

[10]James McPartland, *et. al., Student Participation in High School Decisions: A Study of Students and Teachers in Fourteen Urban High Schools*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1971, p. 14.

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effective participant roles.[11] The problem is thus to create the appropriate conditions for developing these competencies through an instructional program. Instruction which promotes a set of knowledge and skill competencies necessary for effective participation, which gives students relevant experience in a wide range of potential role positions, and which motivates them to take on some participant roles of their own choice should create the necessary conditions for fostering effective participant role behavior.

The design of an instructional program which would encourage effective student participation could be done in several ways. One typical approach is what can be termed "observer-based." Under this approach, students would increase their understanding of participation by studying and gaining first-hand insights from observing various activities of different political groups. A great deal of this type of instruction in participation exists in schools, yet few would argue that it ensures more effective participation than when students engage in their own political activity.

A second approach is "action-based." The core of a program utilizing this approach is student engagement in overt political action. Students often choose an issue important to them and play advocacy roles, learning about participation as they seek to resolve a particular policy issue. Students do get valuable experience from such activities, yet it is often questionable whether their knowledge is sufficiently generalizable for them to transfer it to a wide range of political roles and issues.

Still another approach is one which is "competency-based." It differs from other approaches in that its primary purpose is to use participation experience for knowledge application and skill development rather than for new insights or issue advocacy. A program which utilizes this approach provides a strong knowledge and skill base for understanding and acting in political life which predicates and is relatively independent from a particular participation experience. The participation experience is then a vehicle through which students can apply their knowledge and skills in political situations which are important to them. In this way, students develop generalizable knowledge and skills as well as gain relevant experience in participation. It is this competency-based approach which we assume will promote effective participant roles in the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.

There are four sets of political competencies which seem to capture a wide range of skills necessary for acting in effective participant roles under a competency-based approach to participation. One is political knowledge which provides students with ways of abstracting important ideas and behaviors from political situations, data to bring to bear on decision-making, and, as important, an appreciation of basic commonalities in political life across a diverse range of political experiences. One component of the program must focus on providing relevant, generalizable knowledge about political life which will provide a context and a justification for responsible participation.

Other political competencies are equally as important as political knowledge. Students need fundamental intellectual skills to analyze political situations and to have sound criteria for evaluating actions and outcomes. They need participation skills such as decision-making, leadership, and group organization skills which will aid them in putting their ideas into action. Finally, students need to develop attitudes toward political knowledge and participation which will facilitate their action in useful ways. Each of these competencies form key components of any instructional program designed to promote effective participant roles which increase social self-fulfillment.

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[11]Joseph Adelson, "The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent," *Daedalus*, 100, 4, 1971; Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, New York: Random House, 1968; Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4, 1966; Irving E. Sigel and Frank H. Hooper, *Logical Thinking in Children*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

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Research evidence that sustains the linkage between instruction which systematically promotes political competence and the development of effective participant roles is scarce, yet there are quite a few participation projects that have been undertaken as some part of school curriculum offerings. An example of such a project is the *Boulder Experiments* in which students interested in the environment tried their hand at several experiments with traffic and pollution control in Boulder as part of their high school classes.[12] Another project, the *Multi-District Institute for Political Education*, has established a set of political participation projects for students focusing on campaigning, interest group formation, and policy advocacy which are structured as electives in the New Jersey school system.[13] In each of these cases, student participation is part of an instructional program. Yet, few systematic linkages between an integrated course of study, the development of participation competencies, and involvement in sustained participation experiences were attempted by either of these projects, and evaluation studies have yet to be done.

The importance of making student participation an integral component of a school instructional program is illustrated by a seminal study done by the Educational Change Team at the University of Michigan. In a study of different types of student governance in schools, Glorianne Wittes and others concluded that:

> If students are to exert satisfactory control over their school lives, then not only must their school's governance support student power, but so also must its instructional process.[14]

Wittes found that across different types of changes in varying types of school settings, students knew very little about how to participate, were rarely given opportunities to learn such skills, and the knowledge, skills, and experiences needed to promote effective participation in any setting were not being promoted in the school curriculum. She concluded that instruction based on curriculum offerings is a necessary support for the development of effective student participant roles. While it certainly is *not* the intention of this program to directly intervene in school governance, it is very much its intention to attempt to use school experiences in order to provide instruction which promotes effective student participation in a wide range of settings in their everyday lives. Others' results point positively toward the potential of this effort, yet the systematic linkages between instruction and participation have not yet been developed.

Assumption #3: Both the information and school social-organizational environments need to be maximally used for developing the kinds of instruction which will promote student political competencies. For decades, the information environment has influenced the directions in which curriculum development efforts have moved. Obtaining and organizing knowledge has been a major concern to curriculum developers and has caused much debate. Yet people have only recently become acutely aware of the basic school resources necessary to carry out a curriculum effort and the effects of the school social-organizational environment on the development of student competencies. Our

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[12]*Boulder Experiments*, Karen Wiley, Student Assisted Development of Materials for Environmental and Social Studies Education Project, Social Science Education Consortium, Boulder, Colorado.

[13]*Multi-District Institute for Political Education*, Barry Lefkowitz, Director, P.O. Box 426, Glassboro Woodbury Road, Pitman, New Jersey 08071.

[14]Glorianne Wittes, *et. al., Innovative Governance Structures in Secondary Schools*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Educational Change Team, 1972.

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thesis is that school environments are rich in opportunities for planned instructional activities which will help promote student political competence and that the school setting itself can be utilized as an instructional resource.

Evidence to support the effective use of the information environment for the development of instructional programs is replete throughout various types of literature. Clearly, national projects in curriculum development during the 1960's attempted to put the best available disciplinary knowledge to use in curriculum development. Other projects have also attempted to do this by including data, scientific methods, and other practices and questions current in the social science disciplines in development efforts. Evaluation studies have normally not been focused on the effects of different types of information on student competencies, yet they have demonstrated that programs based on the conceptual structures of academic disciplines can have a distinct impact on students' knowledge and intellectual skills.[15]

In order to promote basic political competencies, the most appropriate disciplinary information needs to be supplemented by a wide variety of other source materials. Yet, the disciplinary information itself, because it cannot be presented as an end in itself, must be selected and interpreted in ways useful for developing political competencies. Information from non-social science sources and popular material needs to be used both to hedge and concretize concepts and generalizations. Thus, while the program needs to be based on a systematic framework which will encompass generalizable information, it also needs to be directly applicable to practical political situations.

This link between theory and practice is fundamental to the development of the content base of the program. Therefore, while students are provided with generalizable information about political life across local, national and international political systems, they must also be provided with information useful in practical political situations. Thus the program will focus on politics as an important set of ideas and skills such as decision-making and leadership, it will demonstrate that these ideas and skills are as applicable to understanding and acting in political life in international groups as in local school and community groups, and it will attempt to show the utility of these ideas and skills in everyday political life.

Few development efforts have focused on utilizing the social-organizational environment of the school for instructional purposes. Yet, a great deal of research has been done on the effects of school social and political climates on student behavior. Classroom climates have been shown to have demonstrable effects on student learning.[16] Social-organizational climates have also been researched, largely demonstrating the negative effects of student peer interaction and school authority patterns on learning.[17]

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[15]John J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course, 'American Political Behavior,' on the Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," *Social Education*, February, 1972.

[16]Lee H. Ehman, "An Analysis of the Relationships of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," *American Educational Research Journal*, 6, November, 1969.

[17]James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*; Richard Schmuck and Matthew Miles, *Organization Development in Schools*, National Press Books, 1971; Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971; William G. Spady, "Lament for the Letterman: Effects of Peer Status and Extra-curricular Activities on Goals and Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75, 1968; James V. Mitchell, Jr., *A Study of High School Learning Environments and Their Impact on Students*, New York: Rochester University Press, 1967.

Willis Hawley has suggested several researchable hypotheses on school-student relationships such as:

1. Students in schools in which free expression is encouraged and where controversial issues are discussed openly are more likely to develop a strong commitment to that value and to understand its civic utility;
2. To the extent that students are involved in the actual formulation of school and classroom policies, they will develop a predisposition to participate actively and democratically in the political process, and the capacity to do so; and
3. To the extent that principals, teachers and other staff members treat each other with respect and deal with important issues in a democratic way, students will be committed to democratic approaches to decision-making.[18]

Research done by both Glorianne Wittes and John DeCecco tends to confirm these effects of environment on student development.[19] This research indicates that a viable linkage can be welded between school experiences and instruction which will aid students in developing political competency and effective participant roles.

The evidence supporting the use of the school environment for instructional purposes tends to lead to the conclusion that only democratic school environments effectively support participation activities. Yet, if participation is considered to be a broad concept encompassing everyday group activity, surely even the most elite school organization supports member participation. While students do not have a voice in administrative decisions in an elite school, they continue to participate in peer groups in which activity significant to their personal goals is undertaken. As long as the program is fundamentally competency-based rather than action-based in its approach, the school environment, regardless of its organizational structure, can be effectively utilized to promote an instructional program which includes viable participation experiences. The determination of how environmental differences affect the ways in which promotion of such instruction is actually carried out has not been researched and will be part of the program evaluation discussed in the final chapter of this paper.

Assumption #4: The introduction of a program which promotes student social self-fulfillment, participant roles, and political competencies will have demonstrable effects on the social organization of a school. If the school environment is used to provide settings for developing political competencies and offering participation experiences, then schools are bound to be affected by the program. The idea that school is a "place" where political inquiry is facilitated through classroom instruction is expanded to include schools as both the subject matter and the object of the inquiry process. Students do research on schools and use that information to make an active contribution to school political life. As a result, actors in school political life must change their image of the school as a formal, apolitical institution to one which includes networks of human interaction which are as dynamic as any other group setting. There is very little research which indicates how images and actions are affected by this type of instructional activity, yet some speculations can be presented here.

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[18]Willis D. Hawley, "Political Education and School Organization," *Theory Into Practice*, December, 1971.

[19]Wittes, *op. cit.*; John P. DeCecco and Arlene Richards, *Civic Education for the Seventies: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution*, New York: Teacher's College, Center for Research in Education in American Liberties, June, 1970.

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Certainly, more than the image of schools will change as a result of the program. The school's actual, everyday social-organizational fabric will be demonstrably influenced by increased information and activity. Most schools will have more information about how they function as social-organizational units than ever before. Most will also experience more purposive student activity. The dynamics of these conditions are hard to predict. There will certainly be errors made by both students and teachers in participation activity. Yet in many senses, schools are one of the few controlled environments responsible for housing errors as part and parcel of the learning experience. In another dimension, there is no real reason why radicalization should be a necessary outcome of the program because, perhaps for the first time, students will have a stake in contributing something to the political life of their school. Thus, the pulse of political life in the school will change dramatically, though not necessarily negatively, as a result of the program.

Individual roles will also change as a result of the program. Teachers will expand their roles from traditional classroom instructors to coordinators and implementors of participation activities. Because part of the program is designed as a flexible set of substitutable individual and group activities, teachers will be faced with many choices about which activities should be undertaken both in the classroom and the school. They will also do much of the initial negotiating and bargaining with other school personnel in order to set up student study and participation experiences. In the course of these experiences, teachers and students will be put in the position of working together to plan and implement activities and explore the political life of the school. The program thus opens a new dimension of the school experience for teachers which should not only get them out of the classroom into the school, but should weld different types of relationships with students. For teachers who are used to the isolation of a classroom setting and dominant authority relations with students, the new dimensions of activity and role relationships will be a real change.

Just as the dimensionality of the teacher's role changes as a result of the program, so the role of students changes. Students who have traditionally occupied spectator roles in the classrooms will now uniformally take on actor roles. This applies across the board to the potential dropout as well as the student council president. Civic education has traditionally supported the aim of educating all citizens, not just college-bound students. The program will give each student repeated opportunities to take an active part in his or her own learning and to make a positive political contribution to the school community of which he or she is a member.

What kind of actor roles will students take? The flexibility of the laboratory activities allows students to have relative freedom of choice in constructing their own learning experience. There are limits to this, of course, as the program is designed to teach certain concepts and skills which can only be learned if some group of students selects to do each of the activities. Yet over the range of the program, students still maintain a great deal of choice. In addition, students are actors in another way, for they also, to a large extent, determine the contributions that will be made to their own social and political environment. The success of the program in many ways depends on how well they can assume new roles as contributors to school political experiences.

Unless these types of changes occur as the program unfolds, its goals will be considerably shortchanged. Students know a "fake" attempt at accommodating their participation in the school community. If they are to adopt effective participant roles in any setting, the school is the most controlled place for them to begin. However, the school and its various political actors must demonstrate considerable flexibility and tolerance for this to happen. Schools that want "real" curriculum reform of the type outlined here must assume a major burden for making the program a success. Yet, if it is

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successful, many schools may find dynamic involvement and contribution on the part of their personnel a welcome and needed resource for present and future needs. These types of implications will be examined in the evaluation work that is done for the program. Some of the types of evaluation efforts that will be made are outlined in the last part of this paper.

Each of the four assumptions and the evidence produced to support them generate an argument for the approach to social studies education introduced in Diagram 1. This argument is both logical and deductively powerful. It can be summarized as follows:

1. Social self-fulfillment is a primary goal of social education.
2. If students engage in multiple participant roles in group contexts, then social self-fulfillment will be promoted.
3. If students are exposed to useful knowledge, skills, and experiences through instruction, then they will effectively engage in multiple participant roles in group contexts.
4. If instructional methods aid rather than inhibit the acquisition of useful knowledge, skills, and experiences, then students will engage effectively in multiple participant roles in group contexts.
5. If the informational environment provided by the disciplines and other sources is utilized to its maximum, then the knowledge, skills, experiences, and methods of instruction to which students are exposed will have necessary backing for successful instructional design.
6. If the social-organizational context of the school is utilized to its maximum, then the knowledge, skills, experiences, and methods to which students are exposed will have necessary backing for successful instructional design.
7. If social education maximizes use of the informational and school social-organizational contexts for instructional purposes and if it includes instruction which promotes competent student activity in multiple participant roles, then social education will promote student social self-fulfillment.

The argument forms a logical, tight-knit theory of social education which allows the development process to proceed in full recognition of the assumptions which underline curriculum efforts.[20] With the addition of the outline of various ways that the program can affect the school environment, the implications of the program can be understood and provision can be made for giving necessary support for changes.

The benefits of developing a logical, consistent, empirically supportable approach to social studies education are many. First, the normative commitments of the project are made explicit. The value implications of the curriculum effort can thus be compared to those of other projects and assurance is given that the commitments are consistent. Second, the empirical assumptions can be researched in order to demonstrate whether

[20]The theory proposed here has a deductively powerful logical structure. Major terms are defined as SEd=social education; SSF=social self-fulfillment; P=effective student participation; I=instruction which promotes political competency; IE=information environment; SE=social-organizational environment. Major axioms derived from the assumptions are thus: $SEd \supset SSF$; $SSF \equiv P$; $I \equiv P$; and $IE \cap SE \equiv I$. These axioms can be utilized to provide proofs for the following theorems: $SEd \supset P$; $SEd \supset I$; and $SEd \supset IE \cap SE$. The theorems, in turn, generate the following deduction: $SEd \supset SSF \equiv (SEd \supset (I \supset P)) \cap (SEd \supset (IE \cap SE \supset I))$. This logical formulation formally demonstrates the theoretical power and potential of the verbal argument developed above.

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or not the assumptions are valid. Finally, the clear statement of a theory offers pragmatic guidelines for the development of instructional objectives and materials. The linkage between the assumptions and objectives of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program is the subject of the next section.

C. Instructional Objectives of Program

The general philosophical framework provides guidelines for the instructional materials developed in the program. It posits the overriding goal of the program as that of increasing student social self-fulfillment, which is promoted by the development of effective student participant roles. The central instructional purpose, then, is to create the necessary competencies for the development of effective participant roles. The four sets of competencies discussed previously can thus serve as a base for defining the instructional goals of the program. They are:

1. Students should acquire *useful knowledge* in order to effectively interpret information and experiences in group contexts.
2. Students should become proficient in basic *intellectual skills* in order to successfully analyze and evaluate information and experiences in group contexts.
3. Students should acquire *participation skills and experiences* in order to take effective actions in group contexts.
4. Students should maintain a set of *attitudes* about analyzing and participating in political life which reinforce undertaking a wide range of participant roles in group contexts.

Under each general instructional goal, objectives can be outlined which will guide the content and structure of actual course materials.

The objectives outlined below are guidelines for the program as a whole rather than any specific lesson or set of lessons. Generally, they indicate a wide variety of types of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that students need to develop basic political competency. They also outline some basic principles of the formation of these competencies and criteria for their use which students need in order to be able to continuously apply and extend what they have learned. For example, students will not only learn about the content of a framework for viewing political life, but they will learn how frameworks are developed and criteria for their use in application to concrete political situations. These types of objectives will be summarized first, and then a set of objectives for a particular lesson will be given which will illustrate how lesson objectives can be developed in specific, measurable terms.

1. *Knowledge Objectives.* The knowledge objectives of the program are quite diverse. "Useful" knowledge is not a narrowly defineable goal. Yet to be effective participants, students must know something about various alternative ways that political systems behave in order to understand the action alternatives with which they are faced. They must also have some conceptual knowledge of why systems behave the way they do in order to be able to effectively evaluate the consequences of their actions. Finally, they must also know something about the complexity of the concrete political system in which they live at both the school and national levels in order to deal effectively in concrete situations. These objectives can be outlined as follows:

1. Students will be able to determine how political life can be defined as a system of interrelated patterns of resources and activities which comprise any political experience.

2. Students will be able to identify four common political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict.
3. Students will be able to identify seven common patterns of political resources and activities which comprise any political experience; namely, political influence, wealth, ideology, decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication.
4. Students will be able to identify relationships between patterns of political resources and activities which comprise any political experience.
5. Students will be able to identify differences and similarities in political resources, behavior patterns, and experiences across multiple units of political life including school, local, national, and international units.
6. Students will be able to identify salient political resources, behavior patterns, and experiences in political life in the United States and apply their knowledge to concrete political situations.
7. Students will be able to identify salient political resources, behavior patterns, and experiences in their own school setting and apply their knowledge to concrete school political situations.

In achieving these objectives, students will gain useful knowledge about specific political systems, a set of concepts which will aid them in making sense out of political life, and a framework for looking at the systemic aspects of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict. They will also have a great deal of experience in applying their knowledge across various types of political systems and concrete political situations. In attaining these objectives, students should have the basic political knowledge requisite for informed political action in participant roles.

§. *Intellectual Skill Objectives.* In addition to useful knowledge, students need to develop a wide range of intellectual skills which will enable them to analyze and evaluate political life in effective ways. Intellectual skills can be divided into two basic types: analytical skills and methodological skills. Analytical skills promote students' abilities to organize and evaluate knowledge in useful ways. Methodological skills promote students' abilities to produce and evaluate evidence used in supporting knowledge claims. The acquisition of each of these skills is important to the development of the political competencies necessary for effectively undertaking a wide range of participant roles in society.

The following analytical objectives are concerned with developing students' capacities to analyze and evaluate political life. The objectives stress the development of skills of dealing abstractly with political knowledge in order to foster the capacity to discover patterns in political life. It is only by recognizing general patterns that students can find applications for their knowledge across many specific situations. The objectives also stress the development of skills of discriminating alternative patterns, of looking for differences and similarities. In this way, students systematically develop alternative ways of approaching political situations. As important, the objectives stress the development of ability to apply knowledge according to well-defined criteria. Developing these skills promotes students' effective use of knowledge in concrete participation situations.

The objectives also focus on the analysis of values in both individual and group terms. Students will be encouraged to surface their personal value positions, analyze and justify their value judgments, and apply their values to their decisions and actions. They will also study and evaluate group goals and learn to compare and evaluate individual and group value positions. In this way, students should gain the ability to evaluate their

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actions along constructive criteria which will contribute to responsible participation in group settings and will promote social self-fulfillment.

These objectives can be stated as follows:

1. Students will be able to develop arguments concerning the appropriateness and utility of acquiring analytical skills.
2. Students will be able to formulate clear, well-defined questions about political life.
3. Students will be able to utilize a theoretical framework for viewing political life.
4. Students will be able to define and use concepts in describing political phenomena.
5. Students will be able to formulate and use generalizations to describe and explain political phenomena.
6. Students will be able to distinguish between descriptive, explanatory, and value claims.
7. Students will be able to articulate their own value positions, analyze value claims, and apply value analysis to a variety of political experiences.
8. Students will be able to use sound arguments and evidence as backing for their explanations of political phenomena.
9. Students will be able to make warranted inferences from their findings about political phenomena.
10. Students will be able to apply criteria to concepts, generalizations, operational measures, and inferences in order to determine their soundness and utility for understanding and acting in their political world.
11. Students will be able to utilize comparative analysis in order to generate alternative explanations of political life.
12. Students will be able to use alternative explanations to inform their decisions about concrete political problems and situations.
13. Students will be able to evaluate alternative decision outcomes and their consequences for political life.

Through these objectives, students will be guided to develop skills in organizing and evaluating knowledge in useful ways and in determining its applicability to political situations.

The following set of objectives are methodological. It is through the acquisition of methodological skills that students learn how to give evidence for the statements and arguments that they make. The list of objectives falls into three major categories: data collection, data use, and criteria for use. These objectives can be outlined as follows:

1. Students will be able to develop arguments concerning the appropriateness and utility of acquiring methodological skills.
2. Students will be able to develop sound operational measures for bringing evidence to bear on knowledge claims.
3. Students will be able to apply sound operational measures to various political settings in order to determine the validity and reliability of the instruments they develop.
4. Students will be able to use standard techniques for data collection such as survey research, interviewing, and participant observation.

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5. Students will be able to analyze data through standard descriptive techniques such as tables and graphs.
6. Students will be able to analyze data through standard explanatory techniques such as measures of association and significance.
7. Students will be able to analyze data through standard longitudinal techniques techniques such as basic path analysis.
8. Students will be able to apply criteria to determine the soundness and appropriateness of data collection and analysis measures such as the correspondence between scales and analysis techniques.
9. Students will be able to use techniques of data storage and retrieval appropriate to their school setting.
10. Students will be able to determine the ways in which findings can be applied within their school setting and other political settings.

If students achieve this set of objectives, they will have the competency to interpret extant data and to collect data on their own and to put it into useful form. In achieving these analytical and methodological objectives, students should acquire the intellectual competency necessary for undertaking effective participant roles in political situations.

3. *Participation Skill Objectives.* An equally important set of competencies that are requisite for the development of effective student participant roles are participation skills. Participant roles range across a broad continuum of possible activities. At the minimum, participation involves helping to carry out predesigned group activities. People who perform such fundamental and necessary follower roles need to develop skills in task evaluation, working with others, and meeting scheduled deadlines. Most club members in schools occupy these types of role positions. On the other hand, participation can involve the exercise of increasing amounts and types of initiative on the part of group actors. As participation demands more initiative, actors need skills and experiences in planning and mobilizing group efforts through active decision-making and leadership roles. At maximum these skills and experiences enable participants to recognize salient problems, to organize group efforts which aid in problem resolution, and to make effective contributions to the system in which the group is a part. In a sense, maximum participation involves skills in the creation of a group to meet a need and the satisfaction of that need. Each type of participation is important to group work and the objectives listed below are designed to promote acquisition of the widest possible range of skills so that any student has the competence necessary to assume many types of participant roles.

The participation skill objectives listed below are of three general types: 1) those that relate to maximizing students' fundamental abilities to work effectively in any group; 2) those that give students important types of experience in various political participation roles; and 3) those that have a clear goal of contributing to student and school needs. The types of skills students will learn will thus be generalizable across many contexts as well as flexible enough to meet individual student needs. These objectives can be listed as follows:

1. Students will be able to develop arguments concerning the appropriateness and utility of acquiring participation skills and experience.
2. Students will be able to demonstrate basic skills in interpersonal relations that are fundamental to group work.
3. Students will be able to demonstrate basic skills in organizing group activities.

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4. Students will be able to demonstrate basic skills in scheduling group activities.
5. Students will be able to demonstrate basic skills in mobilizing support within groups and between groups and other individuals and organizations in their environment.
6. Students will be able to demonstrate basic skills in bargaining and negotiating in group contexts.
7. Students will be able to determine various individual and group incentives which structure group activity.
8. Students will be able to determine the costs and benefits of group activities for individuals and for the system as a whole.
9. Students will be able to make effective decisions by learning various appropriate ways in which decisions can be made and by using these skills in various types of decision-making contexts.
10. Students will be able to work effectively in leadership-followership relations by learning various ways in which leadership is exercised and by using these skills in various types of leadership contexts.
11. Students will be able to work effectively in participation activities by learning various ways in which people participate in groups and by using these skills in various types of participation contexts.
12. Students will be able to work effectively in generating and disseminating political information by learning various ways in which communication is structured and by using these skills in various types of group contexts.
13. Students will be able to identify salient political problems and put together effective group experiences which will facilitate constructive problem solution.
14. Students will be able to effectively engage in group activities which will contribute to improving political life in their school.

Through these objectives students learn to work in selected group contexts, gaining valuable experiences in participation. It is hoped that through experiences such as these, students will be able to develop habits of participation which will transfer to other contexts.

4. *Attitude Objectives.* A great deal of the transferability of participation competencies will depend on the attitudes and orientations which students develop. In general, two types of orientations are fundamental to the carrying out of effective participant roles: orientations toward learning and orientations toward participation itself. In order to be effective participants, students must be fundamentally interested in the political process. They must also value systematic ways of putting their knowledge to use. Otherwise, participation efforts on the part of students will neither be enjoyable nor achieve their maximum potential impact in problem-solving situations. In addition, students need to develop positive, open attitudes toward organized activity and their role within it in order to continue to enter into and participate fully in group efforts. They also need to develop a perspective on participation which links their actions to the needs and actions of others in the larger political context. These types of orientations toward participation will aid students to maximize personal and group rewards in their participation experience.

Neither attitudes toward learning nor those toward participation need involve teaching students to believe in particular political processes or activities as uniformally better

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than others. For example, students need not be taught to believe in the principle of majority rule in order to appreciate political life and effectively and responsibly participate in political groups. However, they do need to be able to tolerate and appreciate other's beliefs and to value determining the appropriateness of their own actions in light of individual and group goals. Thus this program fosters ways of considering, evaluating, and implementing individual and group goals rather than promoting particular value positions.

Along the same lines, the program promotes attitudes which will facilitate learning and participation, but does not explore or equate certain psychological states or variables with effective learning and participation. The range of possible participant roles which students can choose to pursue is broad. They need not have "leadership" qualities which necessitate predispositions to take risks or assume major initiative in policy planning. They will learn a leadership skill which they may or may not choose to apply in their own lives. The point is that students develop basic competencies in the program which will enable them to choose later to exercise those participant roles which fit their own personality structure and their social needs. To make any other assumption in a one-year instructional program would be unnecessarily restrictive and bound to failure.

With these considerations in mind, the general attitudinal objectives for the program can be stated as follows:

1. Students will evidence increased interest in the political process at multiple levels of political organization.
2. Students will acquire a more positive set of attitudes toward the use of scientific knowledge.
3. Students will acquire general trust in organized group activity and a creative skepticism about any single form of organizational application across group contexts.
4. Students will demonstrate tolerance of different roles and values of other group participants.
5. Students will demonstrate appreciation of the complexity of factors entering into different problem-solving situations.
6. Students will feel that they have effective roles to play in a wide range of group activities.
7. Students will feel more a part of the system in which they participate.
8. Students will have basic confidence in their ability to participate in a wide range of group activities.
9. Students will recognize that they have multiple loyalties in various group contexts.
10. Students will demonstrate identification with larger organized group contexts than the ones in which they directly participate.

Through these objectives students will develop attitudes conducive to the development of effective participant roles and to the creative use of political knowledge across multiple group contexts.

Each of these sets of general instructional objectives can be translated into specific sets of measurable lesson objectives which are integrated and sequenced throughout the program to promote the four basic political competencies. For example, the general knowledge objective of identifying common patterns of political resources and behavior such as decision-making can be translated into a specific set of lesson objectives through which students learn basic elements of the decision-making process: 1) how different

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decision rules effect the process; 2) how decision-making relates to other political activities such as leadership; and 3) the impact of decision-making on various systemic political experiences such as maintenance, change, development, and conflict. Attainment of these objectives can be measured in a variety of standard ways.

In the same way, participation skill objectives such as making effective decisions can be translated into specified sets of measurable lesson objectives. For example, students learn how to generate alternatives, bring evidence to bear on those alternatives, evaluate them in terms of individual and group values, make choices, determine the implications of their choice, and implement their decisions. Each of these skills can be measured by standard instruments or by non-standard observational measures.

Yet, none of these objectives is independent. It is the task of creative instructional design to organize learning situations in which objectives can be simultaneously pursued. Learning situations are created by systematically integrating abstract concepts, generalizations, and concrete data; by developing skills which are given useful applications; and by putting knowledge and skills to use in analyzing and participating in everyday political settings. Thus, as students learn decision-making skills and participate in political experiences, they are also applying previous knowledge about decision-making processes. Through such situations, students are given systematically developed opportunities to acquire multiple political competencies necessary for developing effective participant roles.

This integration of objectives is important, for without some basic reinforcement from different types of competencies, it is difficult to see how social self-fulfillment could occur. Students whose political knowledge competency is very high would not necessarily apply their knowledge in useful ways in obtaining individual and group goals. Otherwise, all political science professionals would be good practical politicians and would be socially self-fulfilled. On the other hand, without fundamental generalizable knowledge of political processes, it is difficult to imagine how students could sufficiently understand the causes, alternatives and consequences of their behavior except in a long trial-and-error process. Such trial-and-error is costly, and often inhibits productive participation. Therefore, it is important that competencies be multi-dimensional, jointly pursued, and that the promotion of social self-fulfillment is continuously assessed.

The assessment of social self-fulfillment has been described previously, but becomes especially important in the determination of how students are mastering the integration of competencies described above. Thus, part of the assessment of major units of instruction in the program will include some determination of whether or not students are effectively pursuing individual and group growth. Without this type of assessment, we would be unable to determine whether the larger outcomes of the program are being promoted by its instructional design.

The discussion above also shows the importance of linking basic assumptions and objectives in an instructional program. By clearly stating assumptions, the context and goals for the program were well-defined. It was demonstrated that there needed to be at least four competencies developed for the program to carry out its goal of increasing social self-fulfillment. These competencies became the foundation blocks for constructing general instructional objectives. The objectives then become guidelines for concrete materials. Thus, the linkage ensures that the course design will support the goals for which it is intended and that the implications of the program will be well-understood. The next two sections of this paper indicate the specific content and methodology of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.

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PART II.
THE CONTENT OF PROGRAM MATERIALS

The choice of a substantive framework within which to develop concrete instructional materials is important because this selection affects how people will perceive political life, what information they will view as relevant to their choices, and the interpretations and conclusions they will draw from everyday political events. One typical example of this difference can be illustrated by reviewing a set of hypothetical commentaries that U.S. newsmen could well have given on an average election night broadcast. Their commentaries could run as follows:

NBC: Early returns are insignificant as yet, but one thing that is significant is that this election is a people's election. From the beginning to the end of the campaign, the focus has been on how many young voters will cast their votes. Many new groups have entered electoral politics for the first time in this election. Tonight's results will tell us the impact of their opinions and actions.

ABC: As results begin to trickle into election headquarters, perhaps we should pause a moment to consider the significance of the ballots that have been cast today. This has been a campaign which has revealed a great deal of discontent with what is going on in American society. Many voters have become more alienated toward politics in this country. Corruption in government has reached a new peak. Cost of living increases have multiplied. The White House has not developed creative solutions to domestic or foreign problems. Tonight, the American people will decide who will be responsible for resolving these problems in the crucial years ahead.

CBS: We are tonight entering another round of elections which, despite many new faces and issues, will not differ markedly from other years. Voters will choose representatives who will make decisions about how the nation's human and material resources will be used throughout the United States and beyond. The crucial question is how that distribution will occur, whether the President will continue to dominate the policy process, and whether Congress will support new policy directions necessary for pushing the nation ahead. A great deal depends on the votes cast tonight. It always has, and it always will, as long as America maintains a representative system of government.

Clearly, each newsman holds a very different perspective on the election process. On the one hand, the election is a test of the power of new voters; on the other, it is a reflection of the issues that are salient in American society. In still another dimension, the election is seen as part of a prevailing process of government. Thus, the basic perspective that individuals take on political and social life can make a real difference in what informa-

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tion becomes relevant to them, how they form conclusions, and how they take actions based on their decisions.

One thing is given—everyone has some framework through which they view political and social life. It's also true that, regardless of an individual's particular purpose for using knowledge, there are more and less meaningful ways to organize knowledge. Therefore, the major question faced by those developing an instructional program is how to create a meaningful and useful substantive framework which will service students in analyzing and participating in political life. The purpose of this section is to outline such a framework, to demonstrate its utility for analysis and participation, and to derive a course outline based on the foundation it provides.

A. Choosing a Substantive Framework

Realizing that the choice of a substantive framework is a significant one, it is important that that choice be carefully considered. Deciding on a substantive framework is not a matter of casual preference, but is based on guidelines provided by the goals and objectives of an instructional program. In the case of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, then, the choice of a substantive framework is based on guidelines set by our general goal of promoting social self-fulfillment and the knowledge, skill, and attitude objectives which have been previously developed. If we had desired to focus on a goal such as increasing students' understanding of the American heritage and values, we might have chosen a historical framework which would offer students significant ways to appreciate and confront the growth of the American way of life. If we had wanted to promote understanding of political science as a discipline, we could have chosen to offer students intensive exposure to political science concepts, research, and methods. But, because we aim to promote social self-fulfillment through the development of political knowledge, skill, and attitude competencies, we need to select another type of content.

What content maximizes the objectives of the program? Surely, the political knowledge objectives provide significant guidelines for content selection. We have stated that in order to develop the effective participant roles prerequisite to social self-fulfillment, students need to explore significant dimensions of common political experiences. They need to have knowledge of political life which gives them useful guides to understanding and explaining political life and to acting based on their understanding. Thus the substantive framework for the program needs to surface *generalizations* which are useful to analyzing and participating in political situations. To do this, it needs to focus on common political experiences and concepts that will aid in explaining the experiences in a generalizable way.

The intellectual skill objectives also contribute guidelines to the development of our substantive framework. These objectives focus on the promotion of analytical and methodological competencies which promote students' abilities to discover and evaluate significantly different ways of interpreting and acting in political life as well as the consequences of alternative actions. Thus the substantive framework for the program needs to provide alternative models of political life which permit students to make essential *comparisons* which are useful for analysis and participation in political situations.

Third, the participation skill objectives call for student understanding of political life in a series of different types of concrete settings. To be able to participate effectively in political situations, we have said that students must learn to apply skills in a variety of group political contexts. Thus the substantive framework must support inquiry into political situations of very different types across school, local, national, and interna-

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tional levels of political life. In this way, the framework will provide students with relevant *applications* of their political knowledge and skills.

Finally, both participation and attitudinal competencies require that the content of materials reflect some ideas and skills which are fundamentally relevant for students as individuals. We have stated that an appreciation of individual and group values and goals is basic to students' effective involvement in participant roles and their social self-fulfillment. Therefore, the substantive framework must include *experiences* which are important to the everyday lives of most students so that their own attitudes can be surfaced and challenged and their participation skills can be honed in concrete political situations.

The general political competency objectives thus compel a substantive framework which provides 1) generalizable political knowledge about common political experiences; 2) various opportunities for comparison and evaluation of alternative political situations and their consequences; 3) application exercises of a wide variety of types; and 4) political experience which is meaningful and relevant to students' everyday lives. The following sections develop each of these dimensions of the substantive framework in depth.

B. A Framework for Analyzing Common Political Experiences

In their study of schools in Kansas, Barker and Gump provide an analog which aids understanding the meaning and import of developing a framework that offers generalizable knowledge applicable across many individual experiences. They make reference to understanding the game of baseball in the following way:

> "If a novice, an Englishman, for example, wished to understand the environment of a first baseman in a ball game, he might set about to observe the interactions of the player with his surroundings. To do this with utmost precision he might view the first baseman through field glasses, so focused that the player would be centered in the field of the glasses, with just enough of the environment included to encompass all his contacts with the environment, all inputs and outputs: all balls caught, balls thrown, players tagged, etc. Despite the commendable observational care, however, this method would never provide a novice with an understanding of the game which gives meaning to a first baseman's transactions with his surroundings, and which in fact, constitutes the environment of his baseball-playing behavior. By observing a player in this way, the novice would, in fact, fragment the game and destroy what he was seeking. . . he could never arrive at the phenomenon known as a baseball game by this means. . . . It would seem clear that a novice would learn more about the ecological environment of a first baseman by blotting out the player and observing the game around him."[21]

What is needed, according to the baseball analogy, is a way of viewing social and political life that will blot out the individual players so that the rules and patterns of player interaction can be understood. This is important because it is only through the analysis of general patterns that students will be able to generalize across individual experiences to pick up "rules" of behavior that can maximize their own actions in group settings.

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[21] R. G. Barker and P. V. Gump, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.

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The development of a framework like the one illustrated by Barker and Gump begins with some fundamental questions. In the case of program like *Comparing Political Experiences*, it begins with the question of what we want to know about political life. What particular things happen to a system that are of enduring interest and use to any individual? In other words, what common experiences characterize political life, whether in schools, communities, nations or international systems? In any system, individuals share common political experiences. They are influenced by the *political rules or decisions maintained* in the political system when they act in accordance with laws. They feel the impact of *political change* because changing policies affect whether their son or daughter gets a scholarship to go to school or whether a minority group can vote. They experience the *political development* of the system when increases in bureaucracy make welfare action more complicated or mass communication gives them instantaneous information about political events. They also become frustrated by *political conflict* when their work is threatened by demonstrations or a building in the community is bombed.

These four common political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict constitute fundamental political experiences that affect all individuals in a political system. They are not the only common experiences in which people participate, but they are important ones. In a way, these experiences constitute the field of play in the baseball analogy. The problem now is to determine what "rules" guide players' behavior in this field of experiences. These rules can be derived by surfacing concepts and generalizations which aid in interpreting and explaining the political actions that contribute to the four experiences. The concepts and generalizations become the major foci of the substantive framework.

The concepts that are useful in understanding, explaining, and applying knowledge of these experiences are determined largely by our general definition of politics: *those activities through which resources are allocated in a system.* Accordingly, two very important concepts which need to be included in any analysis of political experiences are *political resources* and *political activities.* These concepts are so fundamental to political experience of any type that they serve as major content organizers for the program.

In order to elaborate these concepts, other questions need to be asked, such as: What resources are commonly used in political life? The President and the Senate are empowered to determine priorities for making foreign policy. School boards and administrators often make policy decisions regarding dress codes or disciplinary rules for the school community. Students, whether in peer groups or public office, also make plans and take actions which can have important effects on others. In each case, each group values the ability to make decisions which affect its own and others' everyday living. In short, each group values *political influence* as an important political resource.

In the same sense, many citizens from the President to the community member use some form of *political wealth* in taking political action. The citizen making a speech for a political candidate, the Congressman arguing for major federal projects in his state, the President seeking information about the state of the economy or the political stability of another nation — all are using skill, money, or information resources that are necessary to get things done. All value having political wealth.

Why do all these people want political influence and wealth? They have an idea or a set of ideas about how a political system should operate; they have goals for the system. In the United States, goals are tied to a more general set of beliefs about democracy, the role of the individual in politics, the role of the government, and the kinds of acceptable behavior related to everyday political activity. These goals or ideas set important limits on actions within the political system. People appeal to ideologies daily to convince

others to support them, to justify policies, and to gain common ground for communication. Goals vary from political system to political system, yet, in each case in which people value ideas, *political ideology* becomes an important resource. These three political resources — influence, wealth, and ideology — are common to every actor in any type of political setting.

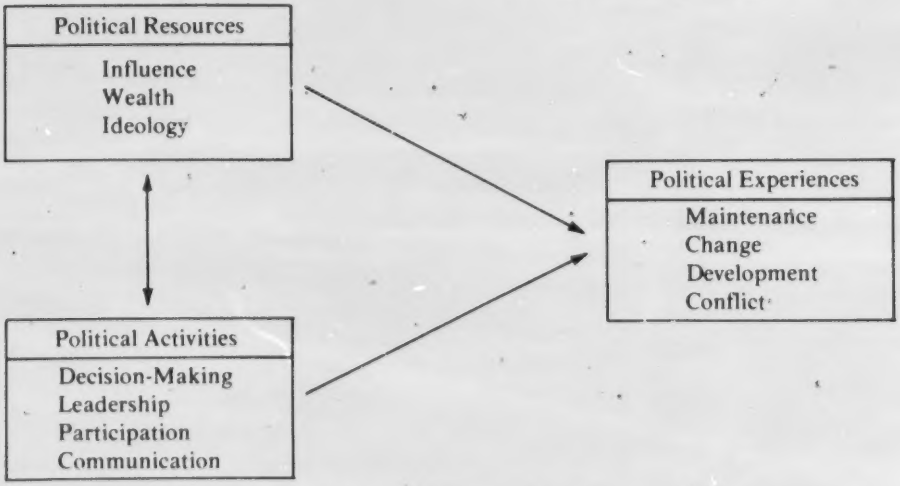
A second question also becomes important to elaborating the basic definition of politics stated above: What are the major activities through which these resources are allocated or distributed? Resource allocation depends upon *decision-making*. For resources to be allocated at all, individuals or groups must make choices between alternative solutions to political problems. The ways in which decisions are made will affect who is influential, the wealth distributed to individuals, and the support that is given for any set of beliefs.

Another major kind of activity which influences the ways in which values are allocated is *political leadership*. Whether a leader uses force, appeals to legal authority, or asserts a charismatic pull on a population has great effect on the kinds of resources he will use and the support he will receive from a population for any policy that he attempts to implement. That support requires *political participation*, for implementation depends largely on the grassroot strategies that are available for individuals to demonstrate support or discontent. Finally, the entire leader-follower relationship necessary for political actions depends upon the structure of the *political communication* system available for leaders to assert policies and for followers to voice support or discontent.

These four political activities — political decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication — and the three types of political resources — political influence, wealth, and ideology — constitute the major conceptual underpinnings of the substantive framework. Because they include resources and activities which are fundamental to many types of political experiences, they will contribute to understanding, generalization, and explanation of the four common political experiences of political change, maintenance, development, and conflict.

The substantive framework for the program can thus be roughly outlined as in Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2: CONCEPTUAL COMPONENTS OF THE PROGRAM



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The diagram demonstrates that each of the seven concepts will be interrelated to provide understanding of the common political experiences. In this way, students can gain useful knowledge about political life which is consistent with the general political knowledge objectives of the program and with the overriding goal of social self-fulfillment.

This outline of the conceptual components of the program serves as a base for further elaboration of the substantive framework. To be maximally useful in serving the full range of objectives of the program, the concepts must be defined and grounded in appropriate ways so that students can apply them in concrete political situations. Ultimately, the definition and grounding of concepts needs to surface alternative models of political life so that students can compare and evaluate the consequences of alternative moves they would support in political situations relevant to them. The generation of these alternatives is the subject of the next section.

C. Comparing Alternative Models of Political Life

Models have proven useful for promoting understanding of a great many subjects. Students build models of geometric shapes that aid them in mastering mathematical ideas. They also draw up codes of behavior or group organization which serve as models for characterizing and evaluating their actions. Americans generally characterize the United States as a democratic system of government. When they do so, they generally refer to a formula for government reflected in the Constitution, a model in its own right. Such models can be very useful, largely because they are abstractions from the idiosyncracies of everyday life and can force us to see patterns and dimensions of objects and situations that we otherwise would not see.

Yet, models serve other purposes as important as clarity. We often juxtapose more than one model in order to facilitate choices we make between different objects or courses of action. Youth often choose between various role models which adults set and pattern their own behavior based on their choices. In the same way, politicians often project future political conditions based on models of present policy alternatives and their possible consequences. Models, then, aid people in making important choices because they promote significant comparisons.

There is no apparent reason to believe that the advantages of modeling should not be as beneficial for the study of political life as they are for other endeavors. Like their mathematical or human counterparts, models of political life can aid students in clearly understanding, generalizing, and, as important, applying their knowledge in political choice situations. The conceptual framework outlined above can be clarified and made more useful by transforming it into a general model of political life from which alternatives can be derived.

The fundamental step that needs to be taken to create such a general model is to define a political system in a way that allows us to see it as a model of political life. Such a transformation can be done rather smoothly if we consider that political resources and activities are basic patterns of political life which in interaction constitute a system of political behavior. Thus, just as a mathematical equation can be created which serves as a model for understanding how hydrogen and oxygen combine to become water, and just as an organization chart can be drawn which serves as a model for understanding how authority relationships service group goals, we can create a model of political life which demonstrates how patterns of political resources and activities interrelate to produce

political maintenance or change, development or conflict.[22] These models will aid students in more clearly understanding complex political phenomena.

We can also derive alternative models of political life by looking at a wide range of different patterns of resources and activities that political systems exhibit. In some systems, for example, influence patterns are hierarchical, a minority of the people can get others to abide by their decisions. In other systems, influence patterns are much more loose and horizontal, many groups have relatively equal ability to influence other groups. These differences in patterns of political resources and activities promote the generation of alternative models of ways that political systems operate. They also allow us to include a wide range of concrete units of analysis under the models from schools to other local, national, and international systems of political behavior. In this way, the generation of alternative models of political life maximizes the goals of the program by contributing a substantive framework which promotes generalizations, comparison, and application to a wide variety of political situations.

A well-defined set of alternative models can be derived from the substantive framework by defining and grounding the political concepts which form its major components. Once the concepts are grounded, significantly different variations can be determined and alternatives can be outlined. Keeping in mind our notion of politics as those activities through which resources are allocated and our notion of a system of resource and activity patterns which produce political maintenance, change, development, and conflict, patterns of political resources can be defined and grounded as follows:[23]

Political influence can be defined as a pattern of deference relationships maintained between individuals or groups engaging in politics. The influence concept can be grounded by a measure of the degree of hierarchy exhibited in these deference relationships. Political systems can thus be characterized by different influence patterns which include hierarchical, pyramidal, horizontal and mixed patterns.[24]

Political wealth can be defined as a pattern of distribution of money, material goods, information, and skills used by individuals or groups engaging in politics. The concept of political wealth can be grounded by characterizing various distributions of wealth according to their degree of selectivity, or whether, for example, only the elite or the entire citizenry gets some share of the wealth. Political systems can thus be characterized by different patterns of wealth which include more or less selective distributions.

Political ideology can be defined as a pattern of beliefs about principles, programs, and actions held by individuals or groups engaging in politics.[25] The ideology concept can be grounded by a measure of the degree of articulation of belief systems

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[22]Anatol Rapoport, "Some Systems Approaches to Political Theory" in David Easton, *Varieties of Political Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

[23]For a complete explanation of the types of political resources included here, see Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

[24]These types of patterns have been systematically measured by Steven Brams and include hierarchical, mutual adjustment, and mixed control patterns. See Steven Brams, "Measuring the Concentration of Power in Political Systems," *American Political Science Review*, June, 1968.

[25]Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology*. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

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across individuals and groups in a political system.[26] In this case, articulation refers to the degree to which some set of political beliefs are integrated, salient, and operational for political actors. Political systems can thus be characterized by more or less well-articulated belief systems.

According to the above definitions, patterns of political resources can be defined, grounded, and differentiated such that basic alternative patterns can be distinguished. These alternative patterns will form the basis for generating various models of political life.

The second set of patterns which need to be defined and grounded are political activities. Political activities can generally be defined as behavior patterns through which resources are allocated in a political system. These activities can be defined as follows:

Political decision-making can be defined as those political activities through which choices are made between alternative courses of action in a political system.[27] The concept of political decision-making can be grounded by determining the inclusiveness of the decision rules under which choices between alternatives are made. Political systems can thus be characterized as supporting minority, plurality, majority, and unanimity rules.[28]

Political leadership can be defined as those political activities through which individuals and groups are mobilized in a political system. As a systemic behavior pattern, leadership can be grounded by the degree of reciprocity which characterizes leadership-followership relationships in a political system.[29] Political systems can thus be characterized by the use of force, authority, advocacy, and merit in leader-follower relationships.

Political participation can be defined as those political activities through which interests are organized in a political system.[30] The concept of political participation can be grounded by determining the distribution of types of participation activities. Through such an index, the amount and type of participation in a political system can be determined. Political systems can thus be characterized by the proportions of long-term official, short-term official, long-term voluntary, or short-term voluntary activities that are pursued in the system.[31]

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[26]Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, New York: The Free Press, 1964; In this case, articulation is considered to be a merger of Converse's definition and Cobb's element of instrumentality, or the degree to which individuals use belief systems as guides for behavior. See Roger W. Cobb, "The Belief-Systems Perspective: An Assessment of a Framework," *Journal of Politics*, 35, February, 1973.

[27]David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, *A Strategy of Decision*, New York: The Free Press, 1963.

[28]James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

[29]Dorwin Cartwright, "Influence, Leadership, Control," in James G. March (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

[30]Mancur Olson, Jr., *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

[31]Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

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Political communication can be defined as those political activities through which information is transmitted in a political system.[32] The concept of political communication can be grounded by determining the degree of centralization in a communication system and the direction of the flow of information. Political systems can thus be characterized as centralized, mixed or decentralized, and they may have uni-directional or bi-directional information flows.

Each of these activity patterns, carefully defined and grounded, will aid in explaining common political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. Students will, for example, relate decision-making and leadership patterns and they will determine alternative explanations of political experiences from the generalizations that they derive. Activity patterns will also be carefully interrelated with resource patterns. The resulting generalizations form the basis of determining different mappings, or models, of political experiences in various types of political systems.

As they have been defined, each of the concepts operationalize significant patterns of political resources and activities in a political system. They contribute direct empirical referents for use in identifying and analyzing political life and applying political knowledge. Each index is also generalizable; that is, each summarizes a pattern of resources or behavior in a political system across individual and group contexts. Through indices such as these, then, students are given handles for making concrete applications of the framework and for deriving useful generalizations about political life.

As they stand, the concepts contribute an important basis for generalization. A list of some typical empirical generalizations which can be generated from the influence index can be outlined as follows:

1) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the greater the selectivity of the distribution of political resources.
2) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the more complete the articulation of political ideology.
3) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the less inclusive the decision rule in political decision-making.
4) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the less reciprocity in political leadership patterns.
5) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the narrower will be the range of participation.
6) The greater the hierarchy in political influence patterns, the greater the centralization in communication patterns.

These types of generalizations can be very valuable for students. Let us suppose that a student faces a decision about how to organize a new student club. The student wants to ensure that most club members will have equal means to voice their opinions *and* participate in club activities. If the student were aware of the first generalization stated above, he or she would know that a hierarchical form of organization would tend to lead to a few members of the club holding more information and experience than others and would defeat the goal. The student would thus organize the club with less hierarchical lines of influence and attempt to avoid this type of skewed distribution of information and experience. Note that the student would also tend to sacrifice a well-articulated

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[32]Karl W. Deutsch, *The Nerves of Government*. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

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group ideology (second generalization) in this process, which for an organizer of a chess club might be workable, but for a sports coach might not be at all satisfactory. Thus, for anyone faced with a particular political situation, these types of generalizations can be useful guides to action.

The matrix of generalizations which can be derived from these concepts is quite large. Yet the utility of these generalizations is not fully maximized until guidelines can be developed for their use in given contexts and over-time dimensions of political life can be captured by the concrete framework. It would do our student club organizer little good to initiate a non-hierarchical organization scheme among a membership that found that time spent in club decision-making under these influence patterns dramatically limited participation in actual chess playing. For these types of reasons, the translation of theory into practice necessitates the generation of alternative dynamic models of political life.

Looking at Diagram 3, the matrix of possible alternative types of systemic models which would serve our purposes is quite large. A complete set of different system types would run as large as 16,384! Yet it is clear from the matrix that a significant range of such systems are covered by the four columns of the indices. What the matrix generates, then, is four prototype systems which are most different from others and which represent a range of the total possible system types. Each of the system types outlined in the diagram provide significantly different alternative models with which to analyze political experiences. *Elite* systems tend to be characterized by categories on the upper range on each index created for the patterns of resources and activities. *Participant* systems tend to be characterized by the lower range of these indices. *Bureaucratic* and *coalitional* systems are significantly different models of the middle range of possible system types. Together these system types form the basis for comparing alternative forms of political experience.

In order for students to use their knowledge of political resource ad activity patterns to generate alternative models of political experience, the experiences themselves must be defined and grounded in a way appropriate for the formation of alternative models. This move contributes a fundamental a part of the substantive framework as the definition and grounding of the individual resource and activity patterns themselves.

Diagram 3 demonstrates some general patterns of resources and activities which different political systems could exhibit. Taken together these patterns give us an idea of what is happening in a political system at a particular time. Yet, each of the experiences of maintenance, change, development, and conflict may continue or change over time. Thus common political experiences in the U.S. in the 1940's can be fundamentally similar or different from those in the 1960's. Systemic experiences can thus be viewed as similar or different by tracing over-time patterns. It is these over-time patterns of political experience that the program is designed to explain, analyze, and apply to everyday settings. It is also these patterns which allow us to generate dynamic models rather than static descriptions.

The four over-time political experiences included in the program can be defined as follows:

> *Political maintenance* can be defined as a common political experience in which systemic patterns of political resources and activities demonstrate similar characteristics over time.[33]

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[33]The maintenance concept is derived from the work of Talcott Parsons, see Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956.

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DIAGRAM 3: ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM TYPES

System Types / Resource and Behavior Patterns	*Type 1* Elite System	Type 2 Bureaucratic System	Type 3 Coalitional System	Type 4 Participant System
Influence Pattern	hierarchical	pyramidal	mixed pyramidal	horizontal
Wealth Pattern	most selectively distributed	selectively distributed	less selectively distributed	more equally distributed
Ideology Pattern	salient-well-connected	not salient-well-connected	salient-disconnected	not salient-disconnected
Decision-making Pattern	minority rule	plurality rule	majority rule	unanimity rule
Leadership Pattern	coercion	authority	advocacy	merit
Participation Pattern	narrow range-low amount	wide range-low amount	narrow range-high amount	wide range-high amount
Communication Pattern	centralized-unidirectional	centralized-bidirectional	decentralized-unidirectional	decentralized-bidirectional

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Political change can be defined as a common political experience in which systemic patterns of political resources and activities demonstrate noncumulative differences in characteristics over time.[34]

Political development can be defined as a common political experience in which systemic patterns of political resources and activities demonstrate cumulative, directed differences in characteristics over time.[35] Development is thus directed change which accumulates over time.

Political conflict can be defined as a common political experience in which systemic patterns of political resources and activities demonstrate competing, multi-directed differences in characteristics over time. These complex changes include patterns of polarization, competition and dynamic cooperation.[36]

Each of these system states captures some general political experience which occurs independently but which is also highly interrelated to others. If conflict becomes institutionalized, then systems, in effect, "maintain" these original conflict patterns. If change begins slowly to accumulate in a direction, then system development is highly related to initial change patterns. It is these patterns of patterns that build the overall historical political experience of any system. Understanding why a particular pattern occurs rather than another will give students clues not only to the past and present, but to future experiences which can be anticipated. It is through the analysis of alternative patterns of political experience, then, that a student gains the ability to plan his actions in light of not only his concrete, everyday experiences, but his goals for the future as well.

The types of conclusions students could draw from over-time comparative analysis can be demonstrated by the following generalizations comparing maintenance patterns across elite and participant systems:

1) If an elite system supports a high degree of hierarchy through the use of force by its leadership and supports a highly articulated ideology, then the system will support a maintenance pattern over time.
2) If an elite system supports such a degree of hierarchy that the leadership begins to lose important information necessary for effective decision-making, then the system will support a change pattern over time which will produce some characteristics of a bureaucratic system.
3) If a participant system supports a high degree of consensus in decision-making and a highly expanding set of resources, then the system will support a maintenance pattern over time.
4) If a participant system loses its capacity to rapidly expand its resources and the resource distribution becomes more selective, then the system will support a

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[34]The change concept is derived from the work of David Apter, see David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

[35]The development concept is derived from the work of the SSRC on political development, see especially Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1966.

[36]The conflict concept is derived from the work of Anatol Rapoport, see Anatol Rapoport, *Fights, Games, and Debates*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.

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change pattern over time which will produce some characteristics of a coalitional system.[37]

Each of these generalizations indicate how elite and participant systems are maintained and changed through different means. Students who had these types of dynamic models and generalizations at their disposal could indeed use this knowledge to inform their decisions and actions in everyday political settings. In this way, building alternative models of political life enables students to make comparisons and transfer their knowledge of political life across various specific types of political settings.

Thus, the development of a systemic framework for analyzing political experiences which has potential for explanation, comparison, and generalization has many advantages. First, it provides students with useful knowledge of common political experiences. Second, it promotes their capacity to organize and evaluate their knowledge in meaningful ways. As important, the framework aids students to assume effective participant roles by contributing valuable information through which alternative choices of action can be generated and consequences can be evaluated. However, the full practical utility of the framework is only demonstrated when the framework can be applied to concrete contexts. This application is outlined in the following section.

D. Using Political Knowledge in Concrete Settings: The School

The specific systems which can be incorporated into the analysis stretch across many levels of analysis. At the international level, elite systems can be represented by bloc organizations such as Soviet bloc, bureaucratic systems can be illustrated by international organizations such as the Common Market coalitional systems can be found in organizations such as the United Nations, and participant systems are characteristic of trade agreements such as those represented by OPEC. Each of these types of international systems can thus be characterized by the resource and activity patterns represented in four models and common experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict can be studied.

At the national level, a wide range of particular systems can also be identified. The elite model can be represented by a party-dominant system such as China, the bureaucratic model by a functionally organized system such as Mexico. Coalitional models are typified by multi-party parliamentary systems such as West Germany and participant models by representative systems such as the United States. In analyzing and comparing political experiences across these units, students will understand a wide range of national systems to which their knowledge is applicable.

Students will also make comparisons across sub-national units at the state, local, and organizational levels of analysis. They will, for example, compare the state organizational structure of Illinois to that of provincial governments in China, and local city governments such as New Haven to various West German forms of city organization. At the organizational level, students will apply the various models to concrete examples from school systems in the United States and to their own school setting. They will thus have ample opportunity to study and to apply their knowledge in settings that are immediately relevant to their everyday lives.

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[37]These particular examples were adapted from David Apter, "Political Systems and Developmental Change" in Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner (eds.), *The Methodology of Comparative Research*. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

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Thus, concrete systems can be identified across a wide range of levels of analysis. Although many different factors enter into the analysis at different levels, the concrete systems represent a significant range of similar characteristics which can be typed as elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant across all levels. Through comparisons of political experiences across these specific systems, students gain an in-depth knowledge of representative system types and can anchor their generalizations in concrete political experiences.

Yet the utility of the framework is not maximized until we are sure that students have ample opportunities to put their knowledge to use. Therefore, the program is designed to take the subset of concrete school political settings specified by the framework and put them to use as a background for analysis and participation in ongoing school political situations. This is accomplished by transforming the students' school political setting into a type of political laboratory in which students can put their knowledge to use in everyday political situations.

1. *The Use of School Political Experiences.* A serious attempt at integrating political theory and practice needs a setting in which knowledge can be applied, fundamental political skills can be learned, and politics can be experienced first-hand. There are several reasons why schools themselves are well-suited settings for fulfilling these goals. First, schools offer a controlled setting that promotes the conditions of learning and transfer. A meaningful match between political principles and a series of inquiry and participation experiences necessitates the identification of a carefully selected range of different organizations and individuals. This match is much easier to provide in the school than in the community because of the accessibility of a defined environmental context and the opportunity to work directly in setting conditions and identifying or controlling instructional situations. Although such control is possible in the classroom, the opportunity for integrating political knowledge and actual participation experience is considerably restricted.

Not only do schools provide an opportunity for controlled integration of political knowledge and experience, they also offer a continuity of experience that is unavailable in classroom or community settings. Effective and responsible citizenship takes time to develop. Experiences in the community are often tied to "events" such as school board meetings focusing on controversial issues or specific interview situations for city council members. Classroom participation through either small group activities or simulated settings avoids the type of transfer experience which allows students to see the consequences of their political actions take effect in an ongoing systemic political setting. The school is a place where students can, on a continuous basis, study political life and build political experience which will maximize their ability to understand political experiences and increase their sense of political efficacy.

As Barker and Gump have demonstrated, schools both large and small also offer a large number and wide variety of behavior settings through which students can observe and participate in politics.[38] Schools support a rich variety of political activities. For example, political decisions about how resources will be distributed are made in school systems everyday. Principals or school boards make decisions about personnel that determine who will participate in the system. Teachers decide which materials to use in the classroom which in turn determine what students will learn to do. Students decide whether to join one activity or another, or how to devote their time and energy resources within the school setting.

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[38] R. G. Barker and P. V. Gump, *op. cit.*

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Furthermore, the accessibility of data in the school setting offers many advantages for political learning. Because data is readily available in the school setting for testing generalizations about politics, students can act as participant observers to decision-making situations, interview relevant leaders, or make changes in student organizations in order to determine how alternative forms of political organization work. Students can, for example, devise alternative ways of organizing student councils and determine which form is most effective in their school setting. The school laboratory also provides unique opportunities for students to study the history and development of school situations. Students could, for example, undertake content analyses of school newspapers or local newspaper files on school-community issues in order to study the political history of an ongoing political system, to determine how changes have come about over time, and to make predictions and evaluations of possible future developments.

Finally, there is no reason why the school itself should not be the beneficiary of students' increased political knowledge and experience. Knowledge of school organization can contribute to more effective communication among groups participating in the school community. The mobilization of student efforts can channel leadership and interest among students into making positive contributions to the political system which most immediately affects their lives. In some cases, school political experiences may be used to develop permanent constructive roles for students as part of the political community of the school. Most important, the benefits of political knowledge and participation can be fed back into the school itself.

Thus, using the school as a whole as the focus for political experience affords some unique advantages over other settings. Controlled integration between political knowledge and experience, continuity and variety in applications, accessibility of data, and potential contributions to the school itself are maximized under this particular alternative. In addition, when the school becomes the focus for study, it is possible to link the school political system and other political units on the national and transnational levels enabling students to compare their knowledge and experience to a wide variety of political contexts.

2. *Schools as Political Systems.* A crucial question remains: Can schools be effectively characterized as micropolitical systems in their own right? If politics is defined as those activities through which resources are allocated for a society, many of the decisions made daily by principals, teachers, and students which involve value allocations for the society of their school would seem to be political in nature. For example, principals often devise schedules or disciplinary rules which regulate the behavior of both teachers and students; teachers make decisions about what students will learn; and students make decisions about what activities they will support in the school.

These types of political involvement are documented by a great many sources. Nunnery and Kimbrough, for example, demonstrate just how political the role of the principal can be in regard to school elections.[39] Harmon Zeigler's study demonstrates how teachers' political attitudes and participation in educational politics can be explained by key background and school environment variables.[40] Neal Gross' study of superintendents and boards of education demonstrates how group pressures affect policy decisions and the role of principals, teachers, and parents in school politics.[41]

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[39]Michael Y. Nunnery and Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Politics, Power, Polls and School Elections*, Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1971.

[40]Harmon Zeigler, *The Political Life of American Teachers*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

[41]Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.

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Thus, there seems little reason to doubt that schools can provide ample experiences for studying politics. Yet to develop some linkages to the framework previously defined, school political life must be characterized in a more systematic way. Schools need to be viewed as systems of resource and behavior patterns rather than loose amalgams of isolated individual or group actions.

One way to construct such a view of school political life is to begin to look at schools as a matrix of behavior settings defined by the patterns of resources and activities included in the framework. With a school political system defined in this way, we can begin to type schools in congruence with the four alternatives established by the general framework. In a concrete school setting, examples of these alternative types could take the following form:

TYPE I: ELITE	The principal and other leaders of this system use force — disciplinary, threats to job security, etc. — to mobilize individual and group activity. Decisions are made by the leadership elite. Participation in political decision-making is selective and based on the appointment of the leaders. Most communication is restricted to decision-makers and passed unidirectionally to most teachers and students.
TYPE II: BUREAUCRATIC	The principal and other leaders in this system use the authority of their position in order to mobilize individual and group activity. Decisions are made according to a rough plurality-rule vote of participants. Participation in political decision-making is mandatory and depends on the particular position that an actor occupies in the system. Communication is restricted to decision-makers, but advice from other groups is sought.
TYPE III: COALITIONAL	The principal and other leaders in this system represent various interests and use advocacy of that interest to mobilize individual and group activity. Decisions are made by coalitions of interests achieving a majority. Participation is open and people generally join groups in which their interests are served. Communication is largely within groups, but bargaining goes on between groups forming coalitions.
TYPE IV: PARTICIPANT	The principal and other leaders in this system use a variety of political resources — ideas, skills, monetary promises — in order to mobilize individual and group activity. Decisions are made according to a rough unanimity or consensus rule. Participation in political decision-making is voluntary and depends upon the particular interests of the participants. Communication between administrators, teachers, and students is constant.

Schools can thus be effectively typed according to the patterns of political activities listed in the framework.

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Within each particular school, decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication settings can be defined as interdependent behavior settings in which school political actors interact. Important settings in the decision-making pattern in schools can be defined as school board meetings, student council meetings, etc. Important settings in the leadership pattern may include superintendent-school board, principal-teacher, and classroom teacher-student settings. Each of the patterns of activities in the framework can thus be operationalized in the school context.

Resource patterns can also be identified by tracing the basic rules or limits under which behavior is undertaken. Therefore, influence patterns can be traced by determining formal and informal rules that structure interaction in various behavior settings, or ideology patterns can be traced by reviewing the relevant range of choices or actions supported in various group contexts. Each of the patterns of political resources in the framework can thus be operationalized in the school context.

It is thus possible, under the scheme suggested above, to anchor these behavior settings in school political life by developing a list of common organized activities in which these behaviors occur. A common list could look like this:

1) school board meetings
2) administrative interactions
3) teacher's meetings, formal and informal
4) classroom interactions
5) meetings for student activities (newspaper, club, council, committee)

Once such settings are selected, the basis is established not only for studying schools as political systems, but for identifying effective settings for student participation.

Thus schools become effective parts of the program in two ways. First, the framework can be directly applied to the school setting. Schools can be typed in ways that are comparable across many other settings. Second, schools maintain a variety of subsettings which offer a wide range of types of experience for students. Using the school as an instructional laboratory can thus foster direct integration between political knowledge and political participation.

3. *Instructional Activities.* Schools can service a wide range of types of learning activities. Three general types are important for this program: Knowledge-building activities, skill-building activities, and participation activities. These three types are general indicators of the different objectives which the school political experiences are designed to implement: 1) The learning or reinforcement of new political ideas and data; 2) The learning of analytical, methodological, and participatory skills useful to organizing and analyzing data as well as promoting effective political participation; and 3) The provision of participation experiences on a regularized basis in order that students habitually participate in political activity. None of these objectives can be achieved through any one of the three general categories alone. They are designed to be part of an integrated program and sequenced to facilitate steps in the learning process.

The *knowledge-building activities* are designed mainly to provide applications for political concepts learned in the classroom and to test generalizations derived from course materials. In this way, they are designed to reinforce learning and to stimulate transfer of knowledge to practical school situations. The school situations explored are designed to be analogous to political behavior studies at other levels of the political system. Yet as with all transfer learning, the focus on a particular set of school activities at a particular time as well as the students' involvement in a concrete situation will add many dimensions to concepts already learned.

Within this category, then, students gather data and observe political life in order to check their observations against what they have learned and to pull out relevant

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generalizations. This type of activity can be carried out in a host of ways: primary source analysis, direct observation, content analysis, participant observation, interviewing, survey research, or experimentation. In each of these ways, students can explore school politics and gain knowledge about decision-making or participation, influence or ideology and its effects on political maintenance, change, development, and conflict.

As can readily be seen, each of the above activities require certain types of inquiry skills. Thus, the second general category is *skill-building activities*. This category is designed to integrated with the first by providing analytical and methodological skills necessary for systematic inquiry into political behavior. Like the knowledge-building activities, the skill activities are designed to stress both applications and initial learning. For most effective use the skills would be learned through the classroom and then applied through subsequent participation activities.

The skill-building activities can be divided into three types. First, *analytical skills* such as problem selection, conceptualization, generalization, comparison, inference, and evaluation can be developed by using school political situations as case studies through which skills are learned and student mastery determined. Second, *methodological skills* such as data collection, interviewing, table reading, survey research, and comparative analysis can be taught using resources supplied in the school setting. Third, *participation skills* such as bargaining, role-playing decision-making, and leadership can be taught through a series of in-service programs in the school which include working with school political leaders and acting in various roles in actual group problem-solving situations.

The *participation* category follows logically from those of knowledge and skill-building. The focus of this category is the utilization of knowledge and skills in political situations within the school setting. Having learned how various variables affect political maintenance, change, development, and conflict and having gained skills in both analysis and participation, students will be able to use school political experiences as a vehicle for gaining concrete experience in advocating changes and trying out solutions to problems in the actual operating school context.

Not all activities which fall under these participation experiences involve student leadership or membership in school political organizations. The purpose of the participation experiences is to involve students in activity which will extend their knowledge and put it to use, not to facilitate student takeover of the school. Thus, a wide range of types of activities can be designed which involve real political situations in which students can experiment with political alternatives without placing the student in the role of principal or superintendent. The types of leadership and decision-making activities which pervade school political life exist on every level and in every organized subgroup within the system.

Participation activities include active membership in decision-making groups such as student courts as well as cooperative activities in which students take over part of the roles of school leaders such as the principal. In between these two extremes, students can establish agencies for existing groups in order to directly or indirectly influence existing political organizations. Students can also create independent groups which parallel the extant school organizations and experiment with different organizational forms in the parallel organization which can be recommended to the existing organization.

None of these types of activities are used independently in the program; all are designed to be part of a program of instruction which includes analysis and evaluation in a classroom setting. Therefore, lab activities are undertaken only as they are analogues for decision-making, participation, and communication patterns studied in the classroom. When decision-making patterns are being studied, for example, the unit

would include core materials comparing decision-making patterns across many units. Students would use the laboratory setting to test hypotheses derived in their classroom study in a variety of school decision-making situations. They would learn skills in analysis and participation by observing and taking part in concrete school settings, and would then choose some permanent activity in which to participate on a long-term basis in order to consistently reinforce and refine these skills. Thus, each segment of the program integrates analysis, application, and participation activities as well as builds upon the knowledge and skills learned from previous segments. In this way, the substantive framework of the program is complete as it offers significant ways to promote knowledge, skill, and attitudinal competencies necessary to promote effective participant roles and social self-fulfillment.

E. An Outline of the Instructional Program

The substantive framework elaborated above can be transformed into a concrete instructional program which promotes the development of political knowledge, skill, and attitudinal competencies requisite to achieving its goals. It is designed as a two-semester course in which the first semester focuses on basic concepts, generalizations, skills, and participation experiences and the second semester concentrates on in-depth studies of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. The program is sequenced in a lattice of knowledge, skill, and experience-building exercises which promote the development of political competencies on a long-term basis and provide for continuous participant role experiences for students. Yet, the program also offers a wide variety of different types of lessons such that it remains flexible enough to meet particular school, teacher, or student needs. The outline which follows reflects both the structure and the variety of the program.

Semester I

The first semester is divided into four consecutive units. Each unit builds on the previous one. Each is designed to contribute fundamental knowledge of patterns of political resources and activities in alternative types of political systems. The general objectives of the first semester are six-fold: 1) to ensure that students can utilize a systemic framework to interpret, analyze, and evaluate political life by promoting their understanding and application of political concepts and generalizations; 2) to teach students basic knowledge of political life in four major types of systems — elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant — across multiple levels of analysis; 3) to explore alternative patterns of resources and activities as they contribute to explanations of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict; 4) to promote skills of scientific analysis and data collection; 5) to structure fundamental participation experiences in political decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication through which students can acquire basic skills and experience necessary for taking effective participant roles; and 6) to promote the development of continuous, effective participant roles for students in school political life.

These general objectives are serviced by the program in the units outlined below. The first unit introduces the students to the substantive framework of the course through an analysis of the school as a political system, the second unit explicates the basic value patterns in political life, while the third discusses the basic political activity patterns. The final unit stresses the interrelationships between patterns and the explanation of the common political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and con-

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flict. Through each unit, students build cumulative participation experiences which promote the development of effective participant roles.

Unit I: The School as a Political System. The purpose of this unit is to introduce students to the systemic framework, to introduce essential tools of scientific analysis, (especially comparative analysis), and to establish fundamental conceptual and experiential knowledge of how the school operates as a political system in elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant settings. Students will also define their interests in school participation and begin to learn basic group participation skills. It is through this unit that students will be introduced to the fundamental knowledge and skill components of the course by analyzing the setting most relevant to them — the school.

The classroom activities in this unit are structured into five modules. Students will first play a basic game which will stimulate their interest in the operation of different types of school political systems. They will draw upon this simulation as they begin to study the systems framework and its major components. The study of these basic components of a systems framework represents the second module. Students gain an overview of the resource and activity patterns which comprise the fundamental political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. The third module introduces students to alternative types of political systems at various levels of analysis. Students are then introduced to basic analytical and methodological tenets of scientific inquiry, especially comparative analysis. They are asked to do some fundamental comparisons between elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems on the school level. Finally, students undertake an extended application exercise in which they study their own school in order to gain a basic demographic mapping of what political life in their school is like.

The extra-classroom component of the first unit involves some basic mapping of political activities in which students are engaged and those in which they desire to participate. Students gain some basic training in the fundamentals of group dynamics by participating in experimental situations. By the end of the unit, each student will have both participated in some actual group setting in the school and collected some initial data about school political life. They will also carefully construct a data storage center which is useful for their school setting.

Unit II: Comparing Resource Patterns in Political Systems. The purpose of this unit is to begin the study of concrete political experiences by learning about alternative patterns of political influence, wealth and ideology in political systems. Students will develop generalizations about the relationships between these patterns in elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems and relate the patterns to the four fundamental political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. Students will develop skills of analysis and participation which will promote study and activity in relevant areas of school political life.

The classroom activities in this unit include both knowledge and skill acquisition. Students will begin their study of the political system by learning about fundamental influence patterns as they are structured formally through official institutions and informally through individual and group interaction. Through the study of political influence relationships, students will be introduced to the basic structure of relationships which underline political activity in concrete systems across school, local, national, and international levels. They will then study political wealth and draw generalizations about the relationships between political influence and political wealth in various types of political systems. Finally, they will study patterns of political ideology and their inter-

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relationship to influence and wealth patterns. Students will be introduced to data on each of these patterns from concrete systems at the school through international levels, and will use this data to draw generalizations across different types of political systems. Students will also have many opportunities to learn basic skills of data analysis such as the construction of tables and graphs, and will use these skills to make comparisons among resource patterns of various systems.

The extra-class activities will focus on the learning of basic methods of data collection such as survey research and participation skills which include a wide variety of role-playing behaviors centered around how an individual can maximize his own resources and those of a group in group settings. Students will be encouraged to undertake systematic analysis of their own value positions and to understand the differences and similarities between individual and group value outcomes. Students will undertake a series of participation activities involving the use of political resources in setting limits on political behavior in schools.

Unit III: Comparing Activity Patterns in Political Systems. The general purpose of this unit is to introduce students to fundamental patterns of political activity in political systems. Students will be introduced to a detailed analysis of political decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication activities. They will apply their knowledge across elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant types of political systems and relate their findings to the four fundamental political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. The unit builds on the knowledge and skills of previous units, introduces new methods, and develops concrete participation activities in which students will continue to participate throughout the remainder of the program. At the termination of this unit, students will have a complete mapping of major resource and activity patterns across various types of political systems and will be engaging in some projected long-term participant roles.

The classroom activities for this unit begin with an extensive study of political decision-making. Students will learn about decision-making across many types of contexts which include minority, plurality, majority, and unanimity decision rules. They will then take up topics of leadership, participation, and communication and study the relationships between these activity patterns and decision-making patterns in the political system. Throughout the study of these activities students will learn techniques of data collection such as participant observation which will be useful in collecting data about these activity patterns. Students will engage in a series of participant training sessions and experimental situations through which they will learn fundamental decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication skills. Through these classroom experiences, students will have acquired the basic knowledge necessary for understanding how political activities are carried out in a wide variety of political settings.

The extra-class activities included in this unit are more extensive than those previously described. Students will test hypotheses about decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication in their school. They will participate in these four types of settings in order to learn and apply participation skills. Based on their experiences groups of students will begin to build continuous participant roles in various group settings in the school. They will choose several different settings, or establish new ones in which they will begin to exercise their skills on a controlled, continuous basis.

Unit IV: Comparing Political Experiences Across Different Political Systems. The general purpose of this unit is to draw together generalizations in light of their relevance

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for explaining political maintenance, change, development, and conflict, to build alternative dynamic models of political life, and to compare these models across elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant types of political systems. Students will learn fundamental analytical and methodological skills which will aid them in these efforts. They will learn the fundamental skills of planning and trend analysis which will aid them in participating in planned group development in their school. They will also begin to develop programmatic guidelines for maintenance and change in the particular political settings in which they are participants.

The classroom component of this unit involves integrating much of what has been previously learned and making it useful for guiding activities in concrete school settings. Students will first establish sets of generalizations which link patterns of political resources and activities across various types of systems. They will then be introduced to an in-depth analysis of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict patterns across various types of political systems. Students will also learn basic skills in planning by participating in experimental situations in which a variety of types of political situations are simulated.

The extra-class activities in this unit involve a good deal of historical analysis of various organized activities within the students' schools. Students will apply generalizations drawn from the unit to the historical development of their own school system. They will have the opportunity to undertake group internships with those responsible for planning school programs. They will draw up plans for change or maintenance of the groups in which they are continuous participants. The plans can be initiated and carried out within the context of the next semester's activities or on the initiative of the student without the next semester's work.

The semester will thus serve all the fundamental objectives stated in the beginning chapter of this document. It will give students in-depth knowledge of selected political systems across multiple units of analysis. It will also enable them to draw generalizations and apply them to political life. In addition, students will have established continuous participant roles within the school settings, and they will have suggested plans for contributing to the future of their school, based upon the knowledge and experience gained from the program.

Semester II

This semester focuses on an in-depth analysis of the four political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. It is designed to be used only after the first semester materials have been covered. The general purpose of the semester is three-fold: 1) to develop an understanding of how alternative types of political systems are maintained, changed, developed, and in conflict over time; 2) to develop skills necessary for students to be able to analyze these experiences over time and to apply their knowledge in long-term planning situations in organized group activities; and 3) to provide for student work in long-term projects which promote continuous student participation in school political life. Through these activities, students will acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences necessary both to maintain participant roles and, as important, to create conditions under which they can effectively contribute to their school setting.

Generally, the units are flexible and Units I-III can be used interchangeably or in conjunction with other materials. There is, however, a certain amount of logic in the sequence presented here. Unit I includes a basic exploration of maintenance and change patterns over time. This material promotes student identification of the fundamental

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ideas of continuity and change. With these ideas in mind, students will explore specific types of directed patterns of change. Units II and III focus on political development and political conflict respectively. Unit IV then provides students with opportunities to summarize, compare, and extend their knowledge. Throughout the semester, analytical, methodological, and participation skills are developed in integration with the specific experiences studied in each unit. The final unit assumes knowledge of these skills because it offers students opportunities to institutionalize participant roles that they have found to be effective in their school setting. More information about each of the four units follows.

Unit I: Comparing Patterns of Political Maintenance and Change. The general purposes of this unit are to present students with four alternative models of political life, to establish the resource and activity patterns which support their maintenance and change over time, to develop skills in over-time analysis, to develop skills in intervention and planning, and to give students concrete experiences in planning organizational maintenance and change. Through these experiences, students should begin to be able to work with alternative forms of political organization and to recognize their long-term consequences for individual and group behavior.

The classroom component of the unit will begin with a simulation of four national units, each undergoing various patterns of political maintenance and change. Students will be asked to use knowledge of these units learned previously in the program to determine alternative ways in which these systems are maintained and change throughout three rounds of the game. Students will begin to formally analyze why political systems of various types and at various levels of political organization are maintained over time. They will study patterns of continuity which are static and those which are dynamic. Based on this understanding of various maintenance patterns, students will study various ways in which systems change over time. They will study both partial changes in systemic patterns and complete or revolutionary change. They will learn techniques of longitudinal analysis which will permit them to study these patterns over time. They will also begin to study planning techniques which enable them to coordinate their findings into long-term, planned maintenance and change strategies.

The extra-class component of the program will involve the creation of several group projects based in organizations in which students are already actively participating. Students will analyze historical patterns of maintenance and change in these organizations. They will define the present problems and goals of the group and the individual participants. They will draw up a set of alternative maintenance and change strategies and project consequences for themselves as individuals and their organizations of possible alternative maintenance and change patterns. Finally, students will attempt to inform the organization of their findings and to implement courses of action that they favor by combining knowledge and skills learned from the previous semester.

Unit II: Comparing Patterns of Political Development. The general purposes of this unit are to explore various patterns of political development over time, to learn fallacies and techniques of inferences made from projections, and to make projections of alternative futures of concrete political systems from the school to the international levels. Students will study a wide range of developmental patterns, draw generalizations across elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems, and attempt to apply these generalizations to the school organizations in which they participate. Through these activities, students should be able to determine how directed change can be brought about in various types of political settings, especially those in their own school.

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In the classroom component of the unit, students will study various patterns of political development and various ways that development can be directed by the initiation of changes in single resource or activity patterns. They will then compare these types of developmental change to those which are initiated from several sources simultaneously or cumulatively. Students will formulate generalizations about how development initiates, progresses, and terminates in various types of political systems. They will also learn basic analytical and methodological techniques of forecasting alternative futures. Participation skills in directing group development and evaluation efforts will be taught through simulated group activities.

In the extra-class component of the program, students will study various developmental patterns in the school organizations in which they are participating. They will draw up development and evaluation plans for individual groups and coordinated plans which apply across groups. They will present their information to these groups and teach other group members skills of evaluation. Students will work to make planning and evaluation permanent activities in those organizations in which they participate.

Unit III: Comparing Patterns of Political Conflict. The general purpose of this unit is for students to learn how various patterns of political conflict operate across a wide range of types of political systems. Students will analyze and apply these patterns to elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems. They will draw generalizations about conflict behavior and conflict resolution across political systems at various levels of political organization. Students will learn fundamental skills of conflict resolution in group contexts. They will also participate in the resolution of conflict in various school organizational settings.

The classroom component of this unit focuses on the analysis of polarization, competition, and dynamic cooperation as patterns of political conflict in various types of political systems. Students will learn fundamental analytical and methodological skills of game theoretic analysis in order to distinguish various types of conflict situations and potential outcomes. They will also learn various skills in bargaining and negotiating as efforts at conflict resolution in simulated group situations. Students will apply their findings to a wider range of conflict situations which have occurred in the groups in which they are participating in their school.

The extra-class component of this unit includes student participation in conflict situations in various school organizational contexts. Students will analyze various types of conflicts and attempt to utilize various methods of conflict resolution in group settings. They will also develop plans for the initiation or prevention of conflict situations depending on their analysis and evaluation of these settings. For those groups in which it is appropriate, students will attempt to set up some formal mechanisms for conflict resolution which are appropriate across several groups. They will use skills learned in the previous semester and this unit to initiate and implement their ideas in their school setting.

Unit IV: Comparing Political Experiences Over Time. The general purpose of the concluding unit is to make comparisons of patterns of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. The students will study various sequences of these patterns across a wide range of political systems. They will again play the simulation which began the semester only using over-time sequences as guides to their behavior in various phases of the game. They will also draw long-range, concrete projections of patterns of future development in their school setting based on their knowledge from this unit. Fundamental analytical and methodological skills of dynamic over-time analysis will be

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introduced which allow students to analyze and evaluate sequences of maintenance, change, development, and conflict. Students will also learn basic skills in providing necessary supports for institutionalizing participant roles.

The classroom component of the unit will include the study of how various types of political systems move from initial maintenance states to change, development, and conflict states over time. Students will trace these patterns across elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems. They will apply their findings to concrete units from the school to the international level of political organization. Students will also learn skills of trend analysis and over-time inferences. They will study how to create various types of support systems for participation activity and will design support systems which they believe are appropriate for their school.

The extra-classroomm component will involve students making long-range plans for student involvement in their school and projections of future student participation efforts. Students will spend considerable time developing the support systems for participation within the organizations in which they are participants. They will also draw up long-range plans for future participation efforts for which they will attempt to gain acceptance in their school.

F. Implications of the Substantive Framework

Through the course of this discussion, an attempt has been made to demonstrate how a substantive framework which integrates political inquiry and political action can be developed for a program of high school government instruction. The strategies for building such a framework have been three-fold. First, a useful conceptual framework has been defined and operationalized. Second, the framework has been translated into alternative models of political life which are applicable to a wide range of concrete political units from the international to the organization level. Third, the ongoing school political setting has been established as an appropriate laboratory for students to apply knowledge, learn skills, develop attitudes, and gain significant participation experience. These strategies have been linked to the assumptions and objectives on which the program is based. As a total instructional effort, then, the program includes a substantive framework which should maximize the goals for which the program is intended.

Yet, despite these carefully developed strategies for providing a useful and powerful substantive framework for the program, it is appropriate at this point to consider some of the problems involved in making many of these moves. At least three such problems come immediately to mind: 1) The program rests on a relatively loose foundation of theory and research because the political science discipline has not developed explanations of political behavior which provide a tight fit to the instructional purposes specified by the program; 2) The program confronts a real problem of providing knowledge and skills which will be less than maximally useful when applied in specific everyday political situations and, as important, can be misused for purposes antithetical to the goals of the program; and 3) The program requires a commitment by both students and teachers that participation experiences are valuable enough to offset the costs in time and effort necessary to ensure the program's success. Each of these problems compound the risks involved in initiating the type of strategy outlined in this volume.

As a result of these risks, the program is likely to succeed less well in its goals than other programs which would posit other goals such as knowledge transmission or self-exploration alone. Why not hedge our bets? First, the incomplete nature of both scientific and practical knowledge does not cripple student attainment of some of the key

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goals of the program which are included only because the practical use of a systematic framework is taken seriously. Students can, for example, systematically explore the operation of alternative types of political systems and develop basic general guidelines for decisions and actions without a completely specified theory of political behavior. Second, the consequences of misusing knowledge in specific situations can be destructive to students and other school personnel, but the alternative is too often the promotion of "political impotence," a situation which is in direct contradiction to the basic purposes of social studies education. Finally, because students and teachers are pursuing something of practical value to them through the program, they may well find the instructional activities "better than school." Combining these arguments with the possibility of some success at achieving the major goals of the program, the payoffs seem to be great even without complete assurance of maximum outcomes.

Thus, both the risks and the compensations of this type of instructional program are great. They key to the minimization of risk and the maximization of success clearly rests in a carefully designed set of materials which recognize the limits of the knowledge and skills that are taught, yet which do not prohibit students or teachers from acting as a result. Another important consideration is the systematic design of instructional techniques which will produce a learning environment which is both meaningful and well-structured as well as flexible enough to keep students and teachers from rigid adherence to inappropriate instructional activities. It is the design of such instruction that is the subject of the following section.

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PART III.
INSTRUCTION FOR POLITICAL COMPETENCE

To be considered a success, the *Comparing Political Experiences* program must facilitate the attainment of particular political competencies by various types of adolescents in high schools. The four sets of terminal instructional objectives discussed in Part I describe these political competencies. They are labeled: 1) knowledge competencies; 2) intellectual skill competencies; 3) participation skill competencies; and 4) attitudinal competencies.

Our instructional objectives describe measurable political competencies; evidence can be marshaled to indicate whether learners have, or have not, achieved them. For example, achieving competence in political knowledge is demonstrating acquisition of concepts, facts, and factual judgments about "those activities through which resources are allocated in a system." Achieving intellectual skills pertinent to politics is showing competence to describe, explain, and evaluate the political world. Achieving political participation skills is demonstrating competence to develop and use effective political strategies. Achieving attitudinal competencies is demonstrating a disposition to value particular orientations to political participation and to the study of politics.

Developing political competencies requires an approach to instruction and learning that stresses the selection and implementation of the most effective and efficient means to the achievement of valued measurable ends. The attention of teachers and students must be focused on the measurement and assessment of student political competencies before and after experiences designed to yield specified changes in ability. The effectiveness of teachers must be judged in terms of the measured achievement of learners, and the success of learners must be judged in terms of progress toward the mastery of measurable objectives.

Following is a three-part description of an approach to instruction and learning which can guide the development of means to achieve particular political competencies. Part A is a description of our approach to competency-based instruction and learning; Part B is a discussion of how to implement this approach to instruction and learning to achieve political competencies; and Part C is a discussion of why our use of competency-based instruction is appropriate to our goals.

A. A Competency-Based Approach to Instruction and Political Learning

Emphasis on demonstrable change in ability to think and act, in terms of measurable educational objectives, is the essential characteristic of competency-based instruction and learning.[42] The relationship between means (techniques and materials of instruction) and ends (objectives of instruction) is highlighted as indicated by the following conceptions of instruction and learning.

According to the competency-based approach, *instruction* is the creation of conditions that facilitate measurable changes in the competencies of an individual; it is "the

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[42]Joe Lars Klingstedt, "Philosophical Basis for Competency-Based Education," *Educational Technology*, 12:11 (1972), pp. 10-14; W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *Systematic Instruction*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970, pp. 7-17.

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process whereby the environment of an individual is deliberately manipulated to enable him to learn to emit or engage in specified behaviors under specified conditions or as responses to specified situations."[43] To instruct in terms of a competency-based paradigm is to alter an individual's environment in order to change the individual's ability to think and act in certain ways under certain conditions.

Learning is a relatively permanent change in competence that results from experience and which is not attributable to physical maturation or disability.[44] A person who has learned can do something new as a consequence of interaction with his environment. Political learning in schools is both *formal* and *informal*. *Formal political learning* is planned and results from student involvement in social studies courses and observance of school rituals and rules: teachers design instruction to transmit political knowledge; patriotic observances are planned to teach attitudes; school rules are established to influence attitudes and behavior. *Informal political learning* is unplanned and results from students' trial and error efforts to cope with political life in school. Through interaction with teachers and administrators, students may learn when and how to exert influence or to use or conform to authority. Students may learn political skills and attitudes as they observe school teachers and administrators: their styles of behavior, their administrative or teaching procedures, their dispositions toward different types of students. Students may also learn political skills and attitudes informally through participation in activities such as clubs, athletics, or committees to plan dances or to raise funds for charity.

One main purpose of competency-based instruction is to expedite formal learning in the classroom. An additional main purpose, which is particular to our use of competency-based instruction, is to extend instruction and formal learning to political life in the school outside the classroom. This extension of instruction provides the possibility of greater direct influence over the development of political competencies as students have the opportunity to systematically and formally learn political participation skills, and attitudes supportive of these skills, which cannot be acquired through classroom activities only.

Diagram 4 shows the relationship of instruction to learning (of means to ends), which is central to the competency-based approach. This diagram serves as a frame of reference for the subsequent discussion of our adaptation of competency-based instruction and learning.

1. *The Pre-Instructional Phase.* Key questions to guide the teacher's development of instruction and learning during the "pre-instructional phase" of Diagram 4 are: 1) What can the learner do before instruction? 2) What do I want the learner to be able to do after instruction? The first question pertains to pre-instructional assessment of learner competencies, and the second question pertains to the formulation of measurable instructional objectives, which describe precisely the competencies learners are to achieve through a program such as *Comparing Political Experiences.*

Formulating instructional objectives is a normative enterprise based upon assessment of the actual and potential competencies of the target population of learners. Several recent studies have indicated a large gap between the potential and actual political competencies of most American high school students. The political learning of most

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[43]Stephen M. Corey, "The Nature of Instruction," *Programmed Instruction*, 66th NSSE Yearbook, Part II, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 6.

[44]Robert M. Gagne, *The Conditions of Learning*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965, p. 5.

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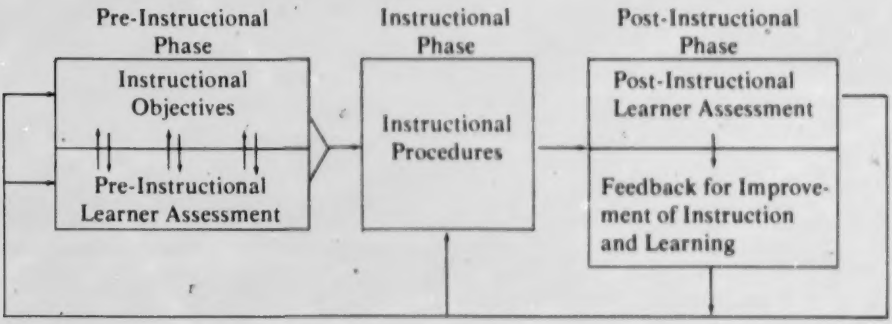
DIAGRAM 4: A COMPETENCY-BASED SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION AND LEARNING



high school youth falls far short of what it could be.[45] Most older adolescents do not achieve high level political learning, such as the political competencies posited as the instructional objectives of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.[46] However, studies of cognitive development suggest that most older adolescents have the potential to learn these higher level political competencies. Thus, it is reasonable to have these political competencies as our objectives of instruction, since they are largely unattained, and attainable, by most older adolescents.

Both terminal and interim instructional objectives are formulated for the *Comparing Political Experiences* program. *Terminal instructional objectives* describe the competencies to be achieved at the end of a course of study and are the first to be formulated. The terminal objectives of our program appear on pages 21-26. Interim instructional objectives, those which describe the competencies to be achieved at the end of a lesson, or a set of lessons, are subsumed by the terminal objectives. Presumably achievement of interim objectives contributes to the mastery of the more fundamental terminal competencies. For example, following is a *terminal* objective which describes intellectual skill competencies to be developed by our program: *Students will be able to use standard techniques for data collection such as survey research, interviewing, participant observation, content analysis, and extant data collection.* This terminal objective subsumes many interim objectives which pertain to particular lessons of our overall program, such as the following objectives that indicate five of several desired outcomes of a lesson about survey research techniques.

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[45]Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, *op. cit.*; Education Commission of the States, *National Assessment of Educational Progress: Citizenship*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

[46]June L. Tapp and Lawrence Kohlberg, "Developing Senses of Law and Legal Justice," *The Journal of Social Issues, Issues*, 27:2, 1971, pp. 65-91; Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4:3, 1966, pp. 295-306; Joseph Adelson, *op. cit.*; Judith Gallatin and Joseph Adelson, "Legal Guarantees of Individual Freedom: A Cross-National Study of the Development of Political Thought," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 27:2, 1971, pp. 93-108.

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1. Students will be able to identify problems that should be solved through a survey study.
2. Given a brief description of a sample survey research problem, students will be able to select the sampling procedure, from a series of alternative descriptions, which is both most practicable and most likely to yield an accurate survey.
3. Students will be able to distinguish acceptable from unacceptable questions to be used in a survey research project.
4. Students will be able to record responses to a pre-coded questionnaire on a McBee data card.
5. Students will be able to use a needle-sort technique to organize responses to a pre-coded questionnaire that are recorded on a set of McBee data cards.

Both terminal and interim instructional objectives are necessary aids to the design, implementation, and evaluation of instruction. Several recent studies indicate students of teachers who use measurable instructional objectives to guide their work are likely to learn more efficiently and amply than those whose teachers either ignore or eschew precisely formulated objectives.[47] Following are five main uses of objectives, as tools of instructional design and learning, which indicate how and why instructional objectives expedite teaching and learning.[48]

First, objectives guide the selection of lesson content, the subject-matter that appears likely to facilitate achievement of objectives. For example, the preceding five interim objectives about survey research techniques indicate that the content of the lesson designed to facilitate achievement of the objectives must include descriptions of various sampling techniques, criteria for appraising the merits of various sampling techniques, criteria for appraising questionnaire design, and directions about how to use McBee cards to process data.

Second, objectives guide the ordering, or sequencing, of lessons. They indicate what prerequisite competencies the learner must achieve before a particular set of objectives can be mastered. Thus, they are indicators of what precedes and follows a particular lesson. For example, students must be able to formulate empirically testable hypotheses before they are able to master lessons about hypothesis testing techniques such as survey research.

Third, objectives guide the selection of instructional techniques and materials, since different types of objectives require the design of different learning conditions. Following are two very different instructional objectives which require different types of instruction:

1. Students will be able to read correctly any two-by-two contingency table.
2. Students will be able to speculate about the best solution to a public policy question faced by a city council.

Skills such as table reading can be introduced and developed most efficiently through self-instructional materials. In contrast, various speculative answers and the divergent

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[47]John M. Muchmore, "Behavioral Control: A Matter of Ethics," *Educational Technology*, 11:6, 1971, pp. 45-46; Richard W. Burns, "Behavioral Objectives for Competency-Based Education," *Educational Technology*, 12:11, 1972, pp. 22-23; Jon I. Young and Adrian P. Van Mondfrans, "Psychological Implications of Competency-based Education," *Educational Technology*, 12:11, 1972, pp. 16-17.

[48]W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-76.

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thinking which yields them (required to achieve the second objective) are best generated through some type of group discussion situation.[49]

Fourth, as criteria for measuring the effectiveness of instruction, objectives guide the evaluation of learning and instruction. The interim objectives about sampling procedures, questionnaire design, and data processing stated above imply performance standards for learners, which indicate how to evaluate their performances.

Fifth, objectives indicate exactly to teachers and students what a course of study is stressing, glossing, or avoiding. Clearly stated objectives reveal whether a program stresses learning that is trivial or profound, esoteric or practical, unattainable or attainable. Indeed, the worth of instruction cannot be judged properly unless the preferred outcomes of instruction are revealed clearly.

Precisely stated instructional objectives are an indispensible feature of competency-based instruction and learning. As clear indicators of what is to be done and how to do it, objectives can facilitate greatly the effectiveness of teachers and the achievements of learners.

2. *The Instructional Phase.* After stating objectives clearly, one is ready to determine how to attain them efficiently. The key question to guide the teacher's development of instruction and learning during the "instructional phase" of Diagram 4 is: What means do I use to help the learner achieve desired changes in competence?

Following is a discussion of five pedagogical concepts that can guide the design of instruction to facilitate achievement of terminal and interim political competencies. These concepts are: 1) perceived purpose; 2) appropriate practice; 3) transfer of learning; 4) differentiated instruction; and 5) instructional variety.

Perceived purpose is knowing what the objectives of instruction are and why it is valuable to achieve them. Telling students at the outset of instruction what they are expected to achieve and why enables them to learn more effectively and efficiently. Knowing the point of instruction helps the learner to stay on track, to attend to what is relevant to the assigned task. Furthermore, it appears that knowing why it is valuable to achieve certain competencies and how they are applicable to important concerns of the student, is a strong motivation for learning. Students who understand why development of certain political competencies is necessary to do things that they value are likely to try hard to acquire these competencies.[50]

Appropriate practice is doing what is necessary to achieve instructional objectives. The instructional designer must arrange conditions of learning which require the learner to think and act in a manner consistent with the attainment of desired political competencies. Learners must have the opportunity to practice what they will be required to do to display mastery of the instructional objectives.[51] For example, to achieve mastery of a concept, such as *political resources*, the learner should be given repeated opportunities to use this concept to organize and interpret information and to build, in combination with related concepts, descriptive and explanatory statements.

To be effective, appropriate practice activities should require active learning which is reinforced. As students use data, ideas, and skills to complete exercises, they should

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[49]David P. Ausubel, *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1963, pp. 83-126; 421-422; Bryce B. Hudgins, *The Instructional Process*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971, Chapter Two.

[50]Jon I. Young and Adrian P. Van Mondfrans, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Joe Lars Klingstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

[51]W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-87.

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obtain knowledge of results as soon as possible. This regular feedback reinforces correct responses and alerts the learner to deficiencies that must be remediated before instructional objectives can be achieved.[52]

Transfer of learning, either positive or negative, refers to the effect of an earlier learning experience on subsequent activities. An example of positive transfer is seen when mastery of statistical table reading skills in the classroom helps one to appraise the results of a public opinion poll reported in a news magazine. In contrast, negative transfer interferes with new learning. For example, learning how to influence policy decision-makers from a misleading educational game might impede the achievement of influence in real political situations.[53]

Positive transfer of learning must occur throughout the learners' use of the *Comparing Political Expperiences* program so that they can master progressively more difficult subject matter and can cope with a wide range of practical political problems. For example, students must learn how to transfer knowledge and skills acquired from basic introductory lessons to subsequent lessons; they must learn to apply a basic conceptual framework to a broad range of intellectual and practical problems; and they must learn how to use knowledge and skills gained from classroom lessons to attain and play valued political roles outside the classroom. Following are guidelines for creating instruction to maximize the possibility of positive transfer of political learning.

Instruction for positive transfer should feature correspondence between original learning tasks and the subsequent transfer tasks. The more similar the conditions of learning and the performance tasks are from one situation to another, the greater the possibility of positive transfer. Specification of measurable instructional objectives is the key to the achievement of positive transfer through task similarity. Objectives focus attention on the degree of similarity between appropriate practice tasks, transfer tasks associated with formal learning in school, and eventual transfer tasks outside the school. This focus allows teachers to arrange for the greatest possible congruence between instructional objectives, appropriate practice activities, and transfer tasks in school which require learners to demonstrate mastery of objectives through the successful application of what was learned in one situation to fresh, similar situations.[54]

Instruction for positive transfer should feature appropriate practice under varied task conditions. For example, requiring students to use intellectual and participation skills in both classroom and extra-classroom settings enhances the possibility of positive transfer. In addition, the likelihood of positive transfer of political concept learning is increased greatly by presenting learners with numerous positive and negative instances of the concepts and requiring them to apply the concepts variously to the solution of different academic and practical political problems.[55]

Positive transfer is encouraged by instruction which requires elaborate, intensive appropriate practice on introductory tasks that are basically related to subsequent higher level tasks. This thorough early learning is time consuming and painstaking, but

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[52]B. F. Skinner, *Technology of Teaching*. New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1968, pp. 141-144; 206-212.

[53]Henry Ellis, *The Transfer of Learning*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965, pp. 3-5.

[54]*Ibid.*, pp. 15-31.

[55]*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45; C. P. Duncan, "Transfer After Training With Single Versus Multiple Tasks," *The Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 55, 1958, pp. 63-72; David P. Ausubel, *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

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it yields the dividend of easing the mastery of related lessons that occur later in a series of increasingly complex tasks. Thus, students should be required to spend ample time mastering basic concepts and skills so that these fundamentals might be applied successfully to the solution of academic and practical political problems.[56]

Higher level learning is more transferable than lower level learning. Learning and thinking can be viewed as ranging from the low-level recall of facts and ideas to higher level cognitive moves which involve the use of facts and concepts to construct descriptions, explanations, and evaluations, and to solve problems. The fundamental knowledge and intellectual skills acquired through higher level learning tasks are applicable to various and unforeseen academic and practical problems. This is why the positive transfer of higher level learning is the key to learning how to learn, to potent thinking and learning without the help of a teacher.[57] The *Comparing Political Experiences* program requires students to continually operate at higher levels of cognition and learning as indicated by the emphasis on thinking systematically in terms of a conceptual framework and on achieving particular analytical and methodological competencies.

To encourage transfer, students regularly should experience lessons that require *active learning*, the application of information, ideas, and skills to the mastery of exercises and problems.[58] The extent to which positive transfer occurs for most students depends upon the extent to which instruction pointedly requires them to apply their knowledge and skills. Indeed, it is likely that students may develop a sensitivity to new applications of knowledge and skills as a consequence of instruction that stresses active learning.[59] The *Comparing Political Experiences* program requires active learning to encourage positive transfer both inside and outside of the classroom. For example, students are required to practice active learning in the classroom by making the intellectual moves necessary to the successful analysis of case studies or to the solution of data gathering and processing problems. Students are also required to practice active learning when they make the moves necessary to conduct inquiries about political phenomena in the school or to participate in the political life of the school.

Transfer of learning always results from student experiences in schools. In order to discourage unintended negative consequences, instruction should be designed systematically and pointedly to yield particular kinds of positive transfer.[60] The extension of instruction from typical classroom settings to inquiry and participation settings outside the classroom is a potentially powerful means to the positive general transfer of political learning. Those who acquire ability to transfer learning broadly to various types of tasks have learned how to learn, which should be an ultimate goal of any curriculum.[61]

Implementation of a competency-based system requires *differentiated instruction*, a variation in conditions of learning to accommodate differences in learners. A main

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[56]Henry Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47; David P. Ausubel, *op cit.*, pp. 160-161.

[57]Percival M. Symonds, *What Education Has To Learn From Psychology*, New York: Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964, pp. 75-90; David P. Ausubel, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-162.

[58]Percival Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 87.

[60]Henry Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-74.

[61]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-38; Harry F. Harlow, "The Formation of Learning Sets," *The Psychological Review*, 56, 1949, pp. 51-65.

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assumption associated with compentency-based instruction and learning is that all, or nearly all, learners can achieve all, or nearly all, of the basic, or minimal, objectives of a course. However, differentiated instruction means that all learners are not required to achieve the same competencies in the same way. Learners with higher aptitude presumably will learn more quickly than those with lower aptitude. More able learners, those who achieve mastery of basic objectives more quickly, must be provided with enrichment learning experiences, with opportunities to refine and extend particular political competencies. Those with lower aptitude require remedial instruction or more practice in order to achieve the basic performance objectives. Learners with different interests or proclivities should be provided with learning options, different learning experiences that can be chosen by those with different learning needs. Thus, although all learners are expected to achieve the minimal course objectives, different learners should have the opportunity to refine and extend their development of political competence in various ways.[62] For example, some individuals may decide that they have particular talent to play group leadership roles. Thus, they may choose to extend their competence for group leadership beyond that specified by the minimal course objectives. Other learners may decide that they have the interest and potential to develop communication skills for political purposes. Thus, they may opt to develop relevant competencies beyond those described by the basic course objectives. Increasing self-awareness, so that wise choices about individual development can be made, is integral to the practice of competency-based instruction and learning.

A competency-based system of instruction and learning requires *instructional variety*, the use of many different instructional techniques and materials. The use of instructional variety is based primarily on the belief that there are various types of learning. For example, learning theorists have created taxonomies which distinguish lower levels of cognition and learning, such as knowledge recall, from higher levels, such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. They have identified and examined the differences between divergent and convergent thinking, between verbal association, multiple discrimination, and concept learning, and between affective, cognitive, and psychomotor learning. These theorists have hypothesized that different types of learning require different instructional procedures, and that there is no single instructional mode or technique that should be used exclusively. They claim that the teacher who uses only class discussion, or who teaches only through educational games, is much less effective than the teacher who tries to match instructional procedures with instructional objectives. They maintain that some objectives are most efficiently and effectively achieved through expository instruction, such as textbook readings or lectures. Other objectives can best be achieved through discovery lessons, which require students to solve problems independently. The successful instructor carefully considers the fit between instructional objectives and instructional techniques.[63]

Instructional variety also helps learning experiences to be more exciting and interesting. Students who are asked *only* to discuss, or to complete programmed exer-

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[62]James H. Block, *Mastery Learning: Theory and Practice*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971; E. Perry Rosove, "To Teach by Behavioral Objectives Or Not?" *Educational Technology*, 11:6, 1971, pp. 36-39; David J. Klaus, *Instructional Innovation and Individualization*, Pittsburgh: American Institute for Research, 1969

[63]Ivor K. Davies, *The Management of Learning*, New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1971, pp. 89-107; Robert M. Gagne, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-61; Benjamin S. Bloom, *et. al.*, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook I, Cognitive Domain*, New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1956.

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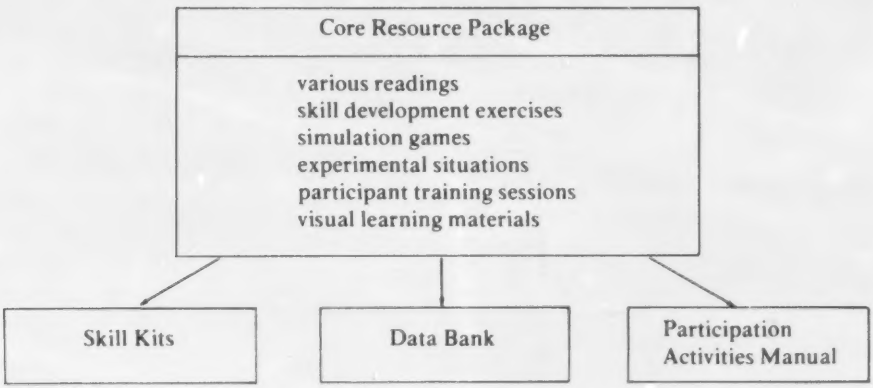
cises, or to play educational games usually become bored. Students who experience a spicy blend of different types of learning activities are more likely to be motivated.

The structure of *Comparing Political Experiences* requires variety and flexibility in instructional materials as well as teaching techniques. The substantive framework and the basic comparative content of the course require the design of a core resource package which has both the sequenced structure of a textbook and the flexibility of a kit containing many types of materials. Students will use various kinds of readings, visual learning devices, skill development exercises, and both simulated and experimental situations to acquire knowledge and intellectual skills. In particular, students will need ample data to support hypothesis testing activities. Thus, the classroom activities require various types of materials.

The structure of the school political experiences also requires both a varied and flexible set of materials. All students need to experience training sessions to develop participation skills. Yet, since students will be undertaking separate, interrelated projects simultaneously throughout the program, the materials will often take the form of skill-training kits which can be used at any point in the program in which the students have need for them. Some basic skills in analysis, methodology and participation will be universally taught. Others, however, will be used depending on the particular activities in which students are engaged. Thus, in addition to core course materials, several types of flexible supplemental kits need to be created. The major materials for the program can be diagrammed as follows:

DIAGRAM 5: VARIOUS INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS



Our belief in the importance of instructional variety means that the program will include the widest range of useful types of lessons, from class discussion of case studies to the performance of roles in classroom simulations of cases, from programmed lessons designed for independent study to lessons which require small group discussions, from classroom discussion of public issues to participation activities which require the solution of political problems.

3. *The Post-Instructional Phase.* The post-instructional phase of a competency-based system, as described by Diagram 4 on page 56, pertains to measurement of learner achievement for the purpose of evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of instruction and learning. Key questions to guide the teacher's behavior are: 1) How do I determine that instruction has, or has not, been successful? 2) What should be done to help the learner to succeed, if I determine that the learner has failed to achieve desired changes in competence?

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As indicated by the preceding key questions, the functions of evaluation in a competency-based system of instruction and learning are to:[64]

1. measure the learning of students in terms of their achievement of particular objectives, or competencies;
2. determine which objectives have been attained, so that the teacher and student behavior associated with this success is reinforced;
3. determine which objectives have *not* been attained, so that appropriate remedial instruction can be provided;
4. inform the teacher of particular strengths and weaknesses of instructional procedures used to achieve particular objectives;
5. suggest improvements in instructional techniques and materials that can lead to improved student performance with reference to particular instructional objectives.

Criterion-referenced tests, those designed specifically to measure the extent to which each learner has attained particular instructional objectives, are needed to carry out the functions of evaluation in a competency-based system. A student's score on a criterion-referenced test is interpreted in terms of established criteria (instructional objectives), not in relationship to the scores of other students.[65]

Criterion-referenced tests should be conceived and applied broadly; the test format should vary with the instructional objectives that are to be measured. These tests might take the usual form of standard paper and pencil tests, with multiple choice, true-false, short answer, or essay formats, which yield student responses as evidence of achievement, or lack of achievement, of particular knowledge or intellectual skill objectives. Criterion-referenced tests to measure knowledge and intellectual skill competencies can also consist of appraisal of student products, such as the design and execution of a sample survey research project to determine political opinions in the school or the design of a planning paper to utilize the political resources of a student group. Another type of criterion-referenced test which is especially appropriate to the measurement of attitudinal or participation competencies is the appraisal of student behavior in political participation settings.[66] For example, participant and non-participant observers can be primed to judge, in terms of instructional objectives, the quality of political role performances of students during debriefing sessions that follow participation lessons in both simulated classroom settings and real settings in the political world of the school.

Criterion-referenced tests can be used for either *formative* or *summative* purposes. Formative tests are used to determine the extent to which interim objectives (those that pertain to a given lesson, or set of lessons) have been mastered and to pinpoint specific parts of the unit of instruction which have not been achieved. In contrast, summative tests are used at the end of a course as an overall appraisal of the extent to which terminal objectives have been achieved. Formative testing can help to improve instruction and learning during the use of a program such as *Comparing Political Experiences*.

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[64]Benjamin S. Bloom, Thomas J. Hastings, and George F. Madaus, *Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971, pp. 117-138; Ivor K. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-215; W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-147.

[65]Ivor K. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[66]Benjamin S. Bloom, Thomas J. Hasting, and George F. Madaus, *op. cit.*, p. 61; p. 117.

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Summative testing provides a general picture of teacher and learner success at the end of a program, which, in combination with formative test results, can contribute to the improvement of a course in preparation for the next group of students who are to take the course. In order for a course to be considered successful, most of the students must demonstrate mastery of most of the instructional objectives through their performances on criterion-referenced tests in formative and summative testing situations.[67]

Formative testing techniques that can be used throughout a course to enhance learning are: 1) scheduling of frequent formative tests; 2) providing feedback about test performance as soon as possible to reinforce learning, pinpoint deficiencies, and to prescribe remedies; and, 3) enabling students to try repeatedly to achieve mastery after experiencing appropriate remedial instruction. These techniques enable formative testing to be a continuation of instructional procedures that can maximize the possibility that most students will master all, or nearly all, of the terminal instructional objectives of a course.

Some type of formative test should be given upon completion of any complex learning task; that is, any unit of instruction which consists of several related ideas and/or skills. The unit of instruction over which a formative test is given may have consumed as few as two or three class periods or as many as nine or ten. The scheduling of frequent formative tests, that cover relatively short segments of a course, paces students' learning so that they thoroughly master the early basic lessons that are prerequisite to the learning of subsequent lessons in a sequentially organized course, such as *Comparing Political Experiences*. Another advantage of the paced learning that stems from frequent, thorough formative testing over small units of instruction, is enabling students to prepare for the tests pointedly and efficiently without becoming overwhelmed by material to be learned.

Providing feedback about the worth of student performances as soon as possible is essential to the utilization of formative testing to improve instruction and learning. The test results can be a powerful reward and reinforcement of learning for those who receive confirmation of mastery. In addition, repeated evidence of mastery learning reassures the achieving students that their approaches to learning are sound and motivates them to continue to make the same kind of effort in order to achieve success in the future.

Feedback about formative test performance is necessary to identify the deficiencies of those who do not achieve mastery and to prescribe remedial instruction. After taking a formative test, students must be shown what part of the test they did not master and which instructional objectives are represented by the unmastered portion of the test. This revealing of unachieved competencies tells students which knowledge, skills, or attitudes they still need to work on.

Diagnosis of learning deficiencies as revealed by a formative test should be accompanied by a prescription of what students might do to remedy their shortcomings and to demonstrate achievement of objectives. For example, as remedial instruction, students might be directed to complete a self-instructional program, to seek tutorial help from a peer who has already achieved mastery, or to participate in a small group activity designed to overcome a particular learning difficulty. Students who spend time and effort trying to remedy learning deficiencies as revealed by a formative test should be provided with at least one additional opportunity to demonstrate mastery on an alternative form of the original formative test.

Formative tests should be used not only to assist remediation of learner difficulties, but also to help teachers and/or curriculum developers to improve instruction. A rule to

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[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; 131-135.

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guide identification of instructional deficiencies is that when a formative test reveals the same deficiency among a majority of learners, then the deficiency might be regarded as associated primarily with the instruction rather than with the learners. Teachers and/or curriculum developers can investigate these massive student deficiencies to find clues about how to improve instructional techniques and materials.

The primary obligation of the designer and implementor of instruction in a competency-based system is to create conditions of learning which are likely to lead to desired changes in the learner. Learning must be measured by gathering evidence which reveals changes, or lack of changes, in student competence. Thus, teaching effectiveness is determined by assessing the relationship between means employed to achieve desired changes in competence and the actual changes in learner competence which are demonstrated. Remedial instruction is provided for slower learners. A main assumption of competency-based instruction is that continued failure of learners on a massive scale reflects serious inadequacy in either the instructional objectives or in the design and implementation of instruction.

B. A Strategy and Context for Using Competency-Based Instruction

Our conception of competency-based instruction has a very wide scope. It encompasses classroom and extra-classroom learning experiences, and it includes both cognitive development, as exemplified by systematic efforts to teach political knowledge and intellectual skills, and social development, as exemplified by systematic efforts to teach political role behavior in participant settings. This broad conception of competency-based instruction and learning requires an instructional strategy, used in an appropriate instructional context, to fuse diverse objectives, techniques, and materials.

An *instructional strategy* is a scheme for sequencing lessons and for integrating instructional objectives and procedures. An *instructional context* refers to conditions surrounding teaching and learning which may facilitate or impede the mastery of objectives. Following is a discussion of an instructional strategy, and the kind of context in which it should be used, that provides for implementation of the key features of our competency-based system of instruction: for systematic linkage of learning experiences; for development of learning experiences in terms of precisely-stated objectives; for demonstration of mastery of objectives; for continuous transfer of learning from lesson to lesson within and outside of the classroom; for differentiated instruction to accommodate differences in learners; for instructional variety to achieve the appropriate fit between instructional objectives and techniques and materials; and for continuous evaluation as a means to the improvement of instruction and learning.

1. *Categories of an Instructional Strategy.* Our instructional strategy, diagrammed on page 66, consists of five categories: A) Confrontation; B) Knowledge and Intellectual Skill Development; C) Political Participation; D) Value Judgment Analysis; and E) Achievement Assessment. As indicated by the diagram, each category of instruction may include lessons which occur sometimes in the classroom and at other times in the school, our political laboratory outside the classroom. In concert, these categories of instruction can provide for sequential learning experiences geared to developing knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to the maximization of a learner's potential for political thought and action.

Category A, "confrontation," initiates a unit of instruction by enabling students to perceive the purpose of subsequent learning activities. Confrontation lessons are designed to generate questions and speculative answers to the questions. These initiating lessons can serve to motivate students, to attract attention, and to provoke them to

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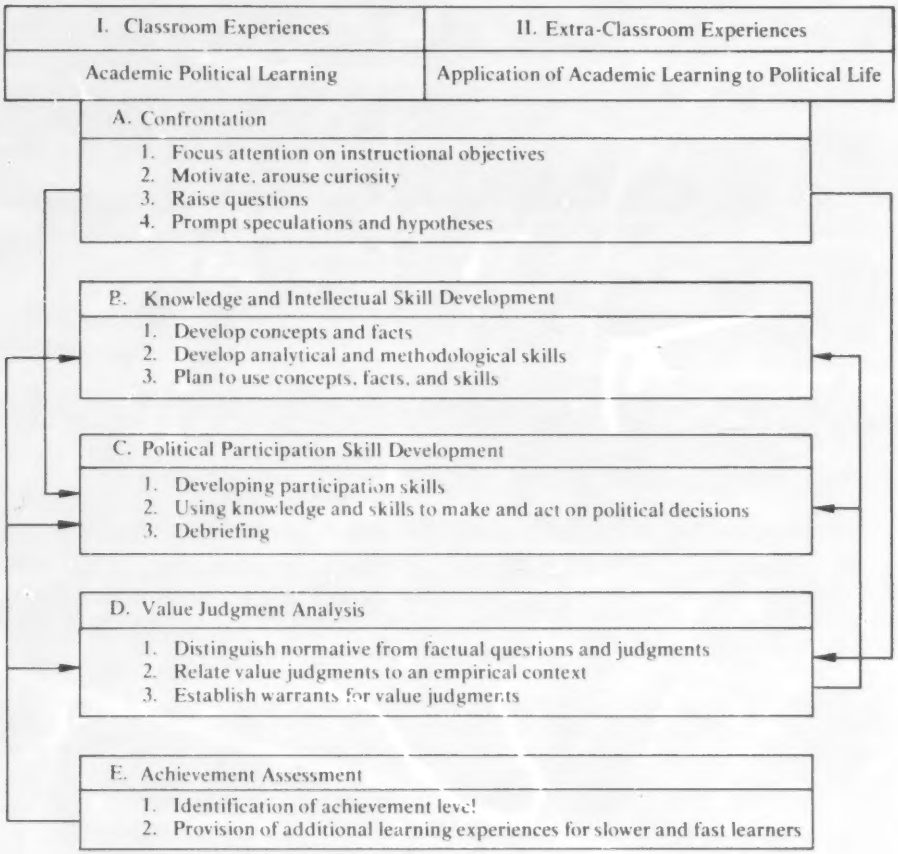
subsequent study to check their speculative answers against available facts. Finally, this category of instruction provides a frame of reference which can facilitate progress through a series of lessons.

Discovery learning activities, which require students to arrive at answers with little or no direction from the teacher, are appropriate to the confrontation category of instruction. Often a discovery lesson consists of fragments of information from which students must construct generalizations. The teacher behavior appropriate to discovery lessons consists of guiding and prompting student thinking and discussion rather than giving answers and thereby foreclosing student inquiry. The teacher conducts open-ended discussion and provokes student responses to cues presented in the lesson. The teacher does not evaluate student responses, since the point of a discovery lesson is to generate motivation to investigate relevant concepts and facts.[68]

As indicated by the diagram, confrontation lessons can occur both in and out of the classroom. Examples of classroom instruction appropriate to confrontation lessons are

DIAGRAM 6: INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGY


I. Classroom Experiences
II. Extra-Classroom Experiences
Academic Political Learning
Application of Academic Learning to Political Life
A. Confrontation
1. Focus attention on instructional objectives
2. Motivate, arouse curiosity
3. Raise questions
4. Prompt speculations and hypotheses
B. Knowledge and Intellectual Skill Development
1. Develop concepts and facts
2. Develop analytical and methodological skills
3. Plan to use concepts, facts, and skills
C. Political Participation Skill Development
1. Developing participation skills
2. Using knowledge and skills to make and act on political decisions
3. Debriefing
D. Value Judgment Analysis
1. Distinguish normative from factual questions and judgments
2. Relate value judgments to an empirical context
3. Establish warrants for value judgments
E. Achievement Assessment
1. Identification of achievement level
2. Provision of additional learning experiences for slower and fast learners

[68]Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960; Bryce B. Hudgins, *op. cit.*

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open-ended case studies, educational games, role-play situations, or discussions of issues. An example of an appropriate extra-classroom experience is observance and discussion of political activity in the school.

Category B, "knowledge and intellectual skill development," provides instruction to aid the learning of concepts, facts, and skills necessary to answering the questions raised by the confrontation lessons. For example, answering a question raised by a confrontation lesson might depend upon mastery of the concept of influence. If so, lessons designed to help learners acquire this concept ought to be presented. Or, if answering a question raised by a confrontation lesson requires learning the skills necessary to interpret a public opinion poll, then students ought to experience lessons designed to teach these skills.

This type of lesson can be carried out both in and out of the classroom. Expository instruction, usually most appropriate to these classroom lessons, is the didactic presentation of ideas and information. In contrast to discovery lessons, expository instruction provides students with the entire content of what is to be learned. Good expository instruction should discourage mere memorization and should involve both lower and higher level learning and cognition. Learners should be required to use ideas and facts immediately to demonstrate knowledge and intellectual skill learning.[69]

"Knowledge and intellectual skill development" lessons which take place outside the classroom are usually extensions of prior classroom instruction. For example, students might learn about participant observation skills in the classroom through a series of programmed instruction lessons and then be required to solve a knowledge problem involving participant observations in the school.

Learning to formulate and test hypotheses is a central facet of the knowledge and intellectual development category of instruction. Hypotheses can be tested in the classroom with "canned" data and outside the classroom with data gathered through inquiry in the school. An obvious outcome of hypothesis testing is the confirmation or rejection of hypotheses in terms of available evidence. Another outcome may be the recognition of viable alternative hypotheses which represent legitimate disputes among scholars about particular descriptions or explanations.

Category C of the instructional strategy provides for the development of participation skills not typically learned in school and for the transfer of prior academic learning to political decision-making and action in the school. To initiate participation experiences, teachers help students to identify the key features of an up-coming participation experience, to map the setting, and to plan for action. Teachers help students to see the connections between their prior political learning and the subsequent political learning to be achieved through participation experiences.

The political participation activities require students to decide and act to achieve something of value, to apply or transfer learning achieved previously to classroom participation lessons and then to the real political world of the school. For example, students might develop the participation skill of bargaining through a classroom simulation lesson. The simulation activity would require students to apply knowledge about bargaining gained from previous classroom learning experiences. Following mastery of the simulation lesson, students would be required to apply their knowledge and skills of bargaining to the achievement of political objectives through participation in a student club meeting. Through these kinds of lessons, students would experience the utility of academic political learning as they apply or transfer this learning to political life in the school.

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[69]John P. DeCecco, *The Psychology of Learning and Instruction*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, pp. 322-384; David P. Ausubel, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-88.

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Debriefing lessons, or post-participation analyses, conclude each set of participation experiences. During debriefing, the teacher helps students to assess the consequences of decisions and actions made during the previous participation activity and to evaluate their participatory moves. Teachers and students try to make the fullest sense of the participation experiences, to determine whether or not a particular set of instructional objectives has been achieved, and to decide whether remedial or enrichment lessons are needed.

Category D, "value judgment analysis" provides students with opportunities to respond to normative questions and to find and analyze warrants for value judgments. Other categories of lessons in the instructional strategy require students to construct and analyze descriptive and explanatory statements, to consider what is, what was, or what might be. Value judgment lessons require them to consider what ought to be. Through these lessons, students are taught to distinguish factual from value judgments. They also should learn that reasoned value judgments are connected to competent factual judgments, that careful consideration of what ought to be is tied to examination of what is, was, and might be.

During this category of instruction, normative issues are raised and analyzed. The discovery mode of instruction, with stress on divergent thinking, is most appropriate to this category of lessons. The instructional objectives for these lessons are specific about procedures while the value judgment outcomes are not specified, which provides for the possibility of considerable variation in value judgments about highly controversial issues.

As indicated by Category E of our instructional strategy, "achievement assessment," or measurement and evaluation of instruction and learning, continues throughout every sequence of lessons. Students are required to demonstrate competence by applying knowledge and skills to master various types of exercises and problems. Some students will achieve mastery of basic objectives more quickly than others. Thus, throughout our instructional strategy, during every category of instruction, there is provision for enrichment and remediation. Student progress is monitored at each step in terms of precisely-stated objectives, which indicate the competencies that we expect the learner to acquire from instruction. Faster learners have the opportunity to achieve more than the minimal political competencies posited by our performance objectives. The slower learners will be given remedial instruction which prepares them to try again to achieve mastery.

Although the five categories of our instructional strategy are depicted in a linear, building-block fashion in Diagram 6, there may be dynamic interplay between the categories as they are applied to the design and implementation of lessons. In the diagram, the arrows show various interrelationships between categories of instruction. For example, achievement assessment occurs not only at the end of a unit of instruction, as suggested by the linear arrangement of the categories, but also within each of the other categories, as shown by the arrows which feed back from this category to the other categories of instruction. As indicated by the arrows, value judgment analysis is applicable to each of the previous categories of the diagram. Sometimes students may move back and forth between two categories before moving ahead. Or students may sometimes skip a category moving, for example, from a confrontation lesson to the direct application of knowledge and intellectual skills in a participation activity.

2. *The Instructional Context.* An appropriate instructional context, the setting in which instruction and learning occur, is necessary to the effective implementation of our instructional strategy. For our purposes, the primary facet of this setting is role relationships, the reciprocal rights and duties of teachers and students who interact to achieve

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learning.[70] The quality of these role relationships can influence students' motivation for learning and their development of knowledge, skills, and attitudes.[71] Thus, the role relationships of teachers and students should be viewed as an instructional variable which can be managed to influence learning through the establishment of an open educational climate, through role modeling, and through small group activities within and outside of the classroom.

A primary feature of an appropriate instructional context is an *open educational climate*, role relationships in the school which allow teachers and students to raise and study any questions considered important to the achievement of instructional objectives and to design political strategies to achieve benefits which can be yielded by the political system of the school. Students must feel free to raise questions and to pursue answers, even when the questions and answers are controversial; they must feel free to arrive at answers that appear unorthodox, or that the teacher or school administrators may not agree with.

An important facet of an open educational climate is encouragement of risk taking. To promote creative and productive intellectual and political moves in the school, teachers must help students to feel that they can explore and take chances and that the consequences for faulty moves will not be unduly severe.[72] If students make poor moves, they should be able to find out immediately why they erred and what they must do to overcome their deficiencies. However, students must never be made to feel so threatened by the possibility of making mistakes that the learning which can only stem from successful personal innovation is precluded.[73]

To assist in the creation of an open educational climate, the teacher must be a leader, an authority, but not an authoritarian leader. The teacher as implementor of lessons is the leader in facilitating learner achievement of instructional objectives. The teacher ought to be an authoritative reference person, a source of expertise relevant to instructional objectives. However, the same standards for accepting or rejecting answers — the canons of social science inquiry — must be applied to the judgments of students and teachers alike. Teacher and students must be partners in social inquiry and political participation. However, the teacher, by virtue of educational background and social experience, may *often* (but not always) be the senior partner in this mutual endeavor to develop student political competence.

Teachers who dominate the classroom in a dictatorial, or authoritarian, manner seem to stifle the learning of higher level intellectual skills while encouraging highly specific, concrete responses.[74] Furthermore, excessively dominative, authoritarian teacher role performance is likely to lessen the possibility that students will develop cooperative,

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[70]Charles R. Andrain, *Children and Civic Awareness*, Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill Publishing Company, 1971, pp. 115-116.

[71]David P. Ausubel, *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968, p. 416.

[72]David A. Goslin, *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969, p. 20.

[73]Alan and Samuel Guskin, *A Social Psychology of Education*, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970, p. 47.

[74]O. J. Harvey, Misha Prather B. Jack White, James K. Hoffmeister, "Teachers' Beliefs, Classroom Atmosphere, and Student Behavior," in Matthew M. Miles and W.W. Charters, Jr. (eds.), *Learning in Social Settings*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970, pp. 122-133.

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creative and self-directive behavior.[75] In contrast, teachers who are respectful of student rights and feelings, who establish relationships of mutual trust that encourage speculation and innovation, and who are attentive to the emotional needs of students are more likely to contribute substantially to the development of desirable intellectual and social learning such as skills in divergent thinking and human relations.[76]

However, teachers must not concentrate so much on respecting students' rights and meeting students' emotional needs that they abdicate their responsibilities as authoritative leaders. Love, respect and emotional support are important, but insufficient, to the development of student political competence. Rather, within a supportive, open educational climate, teachers must challenge students to achieve particular objectives and must lead them to acquire the wherewithal to meet their challenges.[77]

Political attitudes and behaviors are acquired to a large extent through role modeling, a process through which "a person patterns his thoughts, feelings, or actions after another person who serves as a model."[78] Political learning through role modeling in schools is associated with the role relationships of school administrators, teachers, and students. For example, through identification with teachers or peers, students may respond positively to particular behavioral cues and thereby develop political attitudes and behaviors. As a result of observation and interaction in groups in the school, students may learn to feel like, or empathize with, certain peers or adults.[79]

In most schools, role modeling is associated exclusively with informal learning. However, role modeling can become an important part of the process of instruction. Teachers can consciously exercise leadership in the classroom in ways that are consistent with our instructional objectives for the purpose of influencing, through the process of role modeling, the behavior and attitudes of students. For example, teachers can encourage political tolerance by showing respect for the rights of students to hold alternative political values. And teachers can foster political interest by regularly displaying a high degree of enthusiasm for the study of politics and for involvement in political activities.

Instruction based on participation in groups in the classroom and in the school can contribute substantially to the learning of political role behavior and attitudes through a combination of role modeling, appropriate practice, and positive transfer. For example, students can be required to perform particular leadership or followership roles in the classroom, in groups of from five to ten students, as part of simulation exercises or group interaction experiments. They can also be required to practice roles, which have been introduced in the classroom, in participation settings in the school, such as student clubs. Through interaction with peers in group settings, both within and outside of the classroom, students can practice roles which they have learned about through reading and observation and can apply intellectual skills and knowledge, learned previously, which are pertinent to the successful performance of these roles. We assume that practice in group settings is necessary to the development of competence in political role per-

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[75]Olive Banks, *The Sociology of Education*, New York: Schocken Books, 1972, pp. 181-182; Jack E. Dawson, Lawrence A. Messe, and James L. Phillips, "Effect of Instructor-Leader Behavior on Student Performance," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 56, 1972, pp. 369-376.

[76]*Ibid.*

[77]M. Brewster Smith, "Competence and Socialization," in John A. Clausen (ed.), *Socialization and Society*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968, pp. 309-310.

[78]Albert Bandura, "Social Learning Theory of Identificatory Processes," in David A. Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization and Theory Research*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971, p. 214.

[79]*Ibid.*, pp. 234-251.

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formance, that competencies which are practiced are reinforced through teacher and peer evaluation, and that continuous application of knowledge and skills to political participation activities in groups can refine and extend learning through the process of positive transfer.[80] Exposing students to a variety of socio-political role relationships through reading, observation, and role modeling sets the stage for the development of generalized role playing capability.[81]

Evaluation of role performances by peers, who are affected by the consequences of this behavior, is a powerful means to reinforcement and extension of learning. Immediate evaluation reinforces those who perform roles effectively, and those who are ineffective receive clues about what their deficiencies are and how they might overcome them. In particular, less able students can be prompted to use more able peers as role models, to observe and reflect upon the qualities which enable certain peers to perform political roles successfully during instructional activities.[82]

An unusual and possibly very productive use of small group activity for political learning is to arrange intergroup competition in educational games. James Coleman has argued that instruction through intergroup competition can be a powerful motivator to learning.[83] He assumes that the excitement of teams competing in educational games can stimulate student effort to achieve instructional objectives. Coleman also contends that intergroup competition can motivate brighter students to teach their less able team members so that their group can succeed. When winning or losing depends upon joint effort, cooperation between individuals of various talents is likely to be stimulated. Peer tutoring might become common as the more able students in a group realize that it is in their self-interest to serve as task leaders and role models, rather than as overwhelming rivals, for less able students. Performing task leadership and instructional roles might have beneficial educational consequences for the more able students; it is well-known that teaching can reinforce and extend the learning of the teacher as well as the taught. Thus, one can hypothesize large gains in intellectual and participation skill development among both less able and more able students as a consequence of instruction through intergroup competition.[84]

An important weakness of conventional social studies programs has been lack of attention to the instructional context, to the possibilities of managing role relations and group activities to enhance political learning. At present, in virtually every public high school, little or no systematic effort is made to manipulate conditions associated with informal political learning, to control, more or less, the political learning associated with role relationships within the classroom or with various extra-classroom experiences within the school. This neglect has often resulted in severe inconsistencies between formal learning achieved through academic experiences and informal learning associated with the instructional context. These inconsistencies can lead to the blunting or subversion of formal learning and to unintended outcomes. For example, a textbook lesson about the value of political participation can be undermined by an instructional context which precludes meaningful participation. And exhortations about the value of

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[80]*Ibid.*

[81]Eugene A. Weinstein, "The Development of Interpersonal Competence," in David A. Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971, pp. 763-765.

[82]*Ibid.*, p. 713; Bandura, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[83]James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961; James S. Coleman, *Adolescents and the Schools*. New York: Basic Books, 1965.

[84]David P. Ausubel, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421.

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inquiry can be blunted by an instructional context which blocks meaningful study of certain controversial topics or issues. The *Comparing Political Experiences* program is designed to minimize the likelihood of negative political learning by requiring the management of the instructional context, whenever possible, to maximize student achievement of particular competencies.

3. *An Example of a Unit of Instruction.* Following is an example of how our ideas about instruction and learning might be applied to the design and implementation of Unit II of the first semester of *Comparing Political Experiences.* The unit of instruction is titled: "Political Resources and Political Experiences." Let us suppose that students have been working for about three weeks within a systemic framework for viewing political life; they have been introduced to comparative analysis as it applies to different units of analysis from the local to international levels. Students have also begun systematic study of and participation in the political life of their school. They are now ready to study the political resources of influence, wealth, and ideology, which is the subject of Unit II of *Comparing Political Experiences.* This unit is designed to be used during a five-week period.

The general purpose of the unit is to develop knowledge of political resource patterns and particular intellectual and participatory skills that can contribute substantially to inquiry, critical thinking, and action pertinent to the political resources of influence, wealth, and ideology. The specific purposes can be listed as follows:

1. To teach students the basic concepts of political influence, wealth, and ideology and how these concepts apply to different types of political systems at different levels of analysis.
2. To begin to teach students generalizations about patterns of political resources in elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant systems and to extend these generalizations to aid in explaining the four fundamental political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict.
3. To extend students' competence in using the analytical skills of comparison, generalization, and the use of generalizations to construct descriptive and explanatory arguments.
4. To teach students some basic methodological skills in sample survey research and content analysis.
5. To extend students' competence to do value judgment analysis by introducing them to skills of systematically linking preferences, hierarchically ordering preferences, and making choices in terms of these ordered preferences.
6. To begin to teach students some basic participation skills that enable them to use political resources to achieve political objectives.
7. To offer students some basic experience in analyzing and participating in the political life of their school using the knowledge and skills they have developed in the unit.

The concept of political resources, and the subsumed concepts of influence, wealth, and ideology are introduced through a confrontation lesson, which in this instance is a board game which students play in groups of five or six. The main point of the game is to demonstrate that resources place limitations on political activity and that actions must be planned and executed in terms of available resources.

The gaming situation is structured to aid student discovery of the relationship of available resources to political action. During the debriefing discussion, which takes

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place during the class period following completion of the educational game, students are cued to speculate from their gaming experience about the effects of available political resources on political participation. The debriefing session is also used to focus student attention on the main knowledge objectives of the unit, to arouse curiosity, and to motivate students to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to understand political resources and to use them effectively and wisely.

The next lesson is designed to follow-up the introduction of the political resources concepts with a systematic expository presentation via picture slides and audio-tapes of the concepts of political influence, political wealth, and political ideology. The lesson is based on the rule-example technique for teaching concepts. The first step is the statement of the concept rule, or definition. Next, positive and negative examples of the concept are presented. Then students are required to apply the concept rule to discriminate positive from negative examples of the concept. This "slide-tape" lesson also develops knowledge of political resource patterns, of the relationships between these patterns, and of the relationships of political resource patterns to the basic political experiences of maintenance, change, development, and conflict.

Students respond to the messages of the "slide-tape" lesson on worksheets with exercises which are linked to the audio-visual presentation. These worksheets consist of application activities which prompt the student to be an involved viewer of the "slide-tape" and an active learner of the concepts and generalizations that are presented. Feedback provided by the audio-visual materials and the teacher about the worth of student responses to the worksheet exercises enables students to gauge the extent to which they are, or are not, achieving the objectives of the lesson.

The next six class periods are used to intensively develop knowledge about political influence (one of the three political resource concepts introduced through the previous two lessons) and to introduce certain intellectual skills which enable students to conduct inquiries about political influence in the school. Students develop knowledge about political influence through homework reading and application exercises in a core textbook. Through readings and the use of data in the "data resource" section of the core text, students learn about fundamental influence patterns as they are structured formally through official institutions, and informally through individual and group interaction. They learn about these types of influence patterns: hierarchical, pyramidal, horizontal, and mixed patterns. These types of influence patterns will be studied in elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant political systems at these levels of analysis: school, local, national, and international. During this lesson students will be introduced to four national states which will be examined throughout the program as examples of particular political system types: China, an elite system; Mexico, a bureaucratic system; France, a coalitional system; and the U.S.A., a participant system. Through classroom application exercises, students are required to demonstrate concept and knowledge acquisition.

As part of their lessons about political influence, students develop table reading and table building skills. Programmed instruction with application exercises is the medium through which the lesson is presented. Students work on the lesson in small groups of four or five so that they can help one another to master the application exercises.

The following six class periods are devoted to learning about a second concept subsumed by political resources, which is *political wealth*. Students develop knowledge about political wealth through homework reading and application exercises in the core text. Students learn about patterns of political wealth through readings and the use of data in the "data resource" section of the core text. They learn about different political wealth patterns which include more or less selective distributions. These political wealth patterns are examined in different types of political systems and at different levels of

analysis. Students are required to demonstrate concept and knowledge acquisition through classroom application exercises.

As part of their lessons about political wealth, students are required to extend their value judgment analysis skills which were introduced in Unit I. Students are prompted to supply alternative endings to open-ended case studies as a way of identifying and examining their value judgments. In particular, students are taught to order their preferences hierarchically and to choose preferences systematically in terms of their most fundamental value judgments.

The previous knowledge and intellectual skill building activities set the stage for inquiry about patterns of political influence and political wealth in the school. Students are divided into four groups. Two groups are provided with sample survey research inquiry skill kits, and two groups are provided with content analysis skill kits. Each skill kit contains an instructional program to develop the knowledge and skill necessary to conduct inquiry in the school using either sample survey research or content analysis as the means of doing research. Each skill kit also poses a different research problem about political influence or political wealth in the school and provides a format and structure for gathering, processing, and interpreting data to solve the research problems. After spending two class periods mastering prerequisite skills and planning to conduct inquiry, the four student groups move outside the classroom to gather data, which is to be brought back to the classroom for processing and interpretation. For example, one group does a sample survey of student opinion about political influence patterns in the school, and another does content analysis of written records, such as minutes of student group meetings or of the student newspaper, to gain knowledge of influence patterns. A third group does a sample survey study to gather demographic data related to the distribution of political wealth in their school. The fourth group can do content analysis studies of administrative memos, such as the student handbook, and the teachers' continuing regulations to measure the distribution of political wealth in the school.

Students are now ready to apply their knowledge of political resources to political participation activities both within and outside of the classroom. The first lesson occurs in the classroom and is aimed at developing participation skills in creating, maintaining, and changing influence and wealth patterns in group settings. Through participation in simulated group experiences in the classroom, students can learn to work effectively in and to develop various influence and wealth patterns. They can learn basic skills in group dynamics and task development which give them a means for putting their knowledge about political influence and political wealth to use in group settings.

Next, students select tasks which they desire to achieve in group settings outside the classroom. Then they apply knowledge and skills learned in prior lessons to the achievement of a political objective, which is the point of a political participation lesson. For example, assume that some students are interested in influencing a decision in a student club. To prepare for political involvement, the students decide to make five planning moves: 1) to choose four organizations which exhibit different structures of political influence, i.e., hierarchical, pyramidal; 2) to interview at least one member of the student club in order to learn when the decisions they are interested in are to be discussed publicly; 3) to analyze past records of the organizations to determine how decisions have been reached in the past; 4) to research the issues surrounding the decisions that they want to influence; and 5) to plan alternative strategies for influencing the decisions. To make these planning moves, students must apply knowledge and practice analytical and methodological skills learned earlier.

The students are now ready for political action. They divide into four sub-groups for the purpose of using alternative strategies of political influence. Each group implements a strategy designed to influence the decision outcome of a different organization. For example, students may decide to influence an organization which is hierarchically struc-

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tured by supplying relevant evidence for their position directly to the head of the organization. Students involved in an egalitarian organization may exert informal pressure on several key decision-makers. Each group would keep a record of their influence strategies and their successes and failures to influence decision outcomes.

After the issues have been resolved, all the students involved in the activity meet to discuss their efforts and to arrive at answers to such questions as the following: 1) What influence strategies are more effective than others? 2) How does the exercise of influence affect decision-making in each type of influence structure? 3) How can influence structures and strategies affect change or conflict in the school system as a whole?

In the course of this political participation activity, students apply knowledge learned in class and acquire new knowledge. They practice skills learned earlier in the program. And they participate in the effort to resolve a school issue about which they had acquired knowledge and opinions.

During the next four days, students have lessons that develop knowledge about political ideology through homework readings and application exercises in the core text. Through readings and the use of data in the "data resource" section of the text, students learn about types of political belief systems which are more or less well-articulated. They learn about political ideology patterns in different types of systems and at different levels of analysis.

The next lesson requires students to make value judgments about the direction that our society should take. Students appraise brief case studies about future political systems based on popular literature as these cases pertain to political resources; in particular, the resource of political ideology.

At this point in the unit, students are ready again to conduct inquiry in the school, this time about patterns of political ideology. As before, students are divided into four inquiry groups. The two groups which previously used the sample survey research skill kit now use the content analysis skill kit and vice-versa. After acquiring the prerequisite skills through mastery of a programmed lesson, each group assumes responsibility to complete a study of political ideology patterns in the school. For example, two groups can do a sample survey of studies of ideological orientations among students. The other two groups can do a content analysis of school documents and relate their findings to the ideological orientation stated in the official school philosophy.

This unit is concluded by lessons which forge connections between the three political resource concepts: influence, wealth, and ideology. During the first set of lessons, which use three class periods, students acquire and apply knowledge about the relationships of political resource patterns to basic political experiences in different types of political systems. They read exposition and use data in the core text as homework and are required to demonstrate ability to build and link generalizations through classroom application lessons. Students are introduced to multi-variate analysis and over-time analysis as they work with readings and data in the core reader and during classroom application exercises.

During the next set of lessons, which use two or three class periods, students analyze data gathered through their previous inquiries in the school which were done with the two inquiry skill kits introduced in this unit. Students apply their multi-variate analysis and over-time analysis skills to build warranted descriptive and explanatory generalizations from these data, then they try to relate their school experiences to these findings to determine how these experiences are informed by their generalizations.

During the last two class periods of this unit, students work in small groups to identify participant roles and strategies pertinent to their study of political resources which they can implement in the school during the remainder of the semester. This activity, and the role performance that flows from it, is presented as the culmination of prior studies about political resources.

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These examples of lessons about political resources indicate how our instructional strategy can be implemented to achieve instructional objectives. Over the length of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, students are given similar political learning experiences pertinent to each of the basic concepts in the systemic structure.

C. Justification of Our Use of Competency-Based Instruction and Learning

The preceding discussion indicates how we intend to adapt and use competency-based instruction to help older adolescents achieve particular political learning. However, this discussion did not deal with some important limitations and difficulties connected with the use of the competency-based approach to teach higher level thinking skills and to develop political participation skills through various kinds of group activities. In order to justify our use of competency-based instruction, it is necessary to clearly recognize these problems and to indicate how we intend to cope with them.

The first set of limitations are associated generally with the practice of competency-based instruction and pertain to three basic assumptions of this approach. The first major assumption is that measurable objectives can be specified for every desired outcome of instruction. A related assumption is that means can be designed to assess the impact of instruction on learning, that every objective which is measurable in principle can indeed be measured. A third assumption is that an exact fit can be made between instructional techniques and materials, the conditions of learning, and particular instructional objectives.

These assumptions can be implemented to a considerable extent when designing instruction to yield political competencies. If they were not at all implementable, then competency-based instruction would not be viable. However, these assumptions do provide the instructional designer with some stiff challenges. There are likely to be some political competencies that we aim to develop which are not as easy to state precisely, in measurable terms, as others. This limitation may pertain especially to particular higher level intellectual skills or to participation skills involving complex human interaction. However, we can strive to state these objectives as clearly as possible and to measure more or less precisely the extent to which students achieve them. Finally, the empirical ground which can support decisions about how to manipulate conditions of learning to achieve particular objectives is not as large and stable as it could be. Many decisions about how to best arrange conditions of learning must be based upoon artful hunches or common sense rather than upon scientific research.

The extension of competency-based instruction to political learning in groups, which is a staple of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, poses two particular pedagogical problems and surfaces additional limitations of our instructional paradigm. The first problem pertains to extra-classroom participation experiences and the second to tne achievement of competencies by each individual through instruction that requires group activity.

Problem one arises from the fact that conditions of learning associated with political life, the performance of participant roles in the school or elsewhere, are not as amenable to manipulation or instructional design as are other facets of our program. One can posit precise instructional objectives for academic learning in the classroom and can manipulate the learner's environment in ways deemed likely to facilitate achievement of these objectives. One can posit precise instructional objectives for the practice of social science inquiry in the school and can arrange learning experiences in terms of those objectives. However, real political life is not subject to instructional control in the same way as academic learning experiences. Thus, our competency-based conception of

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instruction can be extended only with certain limitations to participation experiences outside the classroom.

The instructional limitations associated with requiring students to apply knowledge and skills acquired in an academic setting to political life outside the classroom can be minimized by (1) stressing the linkage between academic political learning and participation experiences and by (2) stressing post-participation assessment and evaluation of decisions and actions in terms of prior learning. Students who are able to competently assess and evaluate their experiences in participation activities demonstrate that they are mastering instructional objectives relevant to the participation experience. And students who have had prior instruction that is relevant to the arranged participation experiences should be able to demonstrate the effects of this previous formal learning by playing participant roles effectively.

The second problem stems from the attempt to mesh the needs of individual learners with the need to develop political participation skills through group activities. A competency-based system of instruction is geared to facilitate mastery of minimal course objectives by as many students as possible; ideally, all students should achieve mastery. This ideal, in principle, is attainable when applied to the development of knowledge and intellectual skills through differentiated instruction. However, is this ideal at all practicable when applied to the development of participation skills through group learning activities? Does group achievement substitute for individual achievement? Can every student develop even minimal participation skills in a learning context that is likely to be dominated by a minority of students with high aptitude for the development of participation skills? And how does the student who fails to achieve a participation skill try again to attain mastery when the other members of the group have achieved the objective and are ready to move ahead to a new lesson?

One response to the problem of meshing group learning with the needs of individual learners is to stress that most of the minimal political participation competencies of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program are tightly interrelated and must be achieved cumulatively, over a lengthy period of time, rather than as the result of a single lesson, or set of lessons. Thus, the students who are slower learners of participation skills, as evidenced by performance at one time in a particular group, can continue to practice the same participation skills in response to different lessons with various objectives at later times and within various groups. For example, a particular set of lessons might be designed to introduce students to the use of bargaining skills. Undoubtedly some students will more quickly achieve a minimal level of mastery than others, and some students may not achieve the minimal level of mastery as a result of this activity. However, the use of bargaining skills, in relationship to other participation skills, will be an important feature of many subsequent group participation activities. Thus, deficient learners have an opportunity to develop their bargaining skills to a minimally acceptable level over a period of time through different activities. More able students have the opportunity to reinforce previous learning and to extend their bargaining skills far beyond the minimal level of mastery specified by the course.

Another complimentary approach to the group learning and individual competency problem is to emphasize group achievement rather than mere individual accomplishments. As athletic teams, as well as political organizations, succeed or fail as groups, so the participation activity groups can be judged competent, or incompetent, as a whole on the basis of whether group goals are achieved. This group approach to mastery of objectives might encourage the more able students to help the less able in their group to perform competently enough to achieve group success.

To emphasize group achievement, in terms of specific objectives, is to recognize that within a participation group context, political competency can be judged variously in terms of the different potentialities of individual group members. For example, not

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everyone in the group has the potential to be an outstanding leader. However, each group member can learn what the attributes of outstanding leadership are, how to select the best leaders for a given situation, when and how to change leadership, and how to organize for effective followership. Each student can learn how to divide responsibilities and to work cooperatively to achieve a group goal.

Recognition of various levels of competency in the development of participation skills through group activity means that within limits the less able participants can be judged as mastery learners along with their more able peers. For example, a student who has achieved a minimal level of competence in the development of particular participation skills probably will not outdo an extraordinarily skilled peer in a competitive situation. However, the less able student might still perform ably enough to merit achievement of minimal course objectives.

Through group participation activities students can have the opportunity to explore their political potentialities, can strive to develop these potentialities to the fullest, and can learn to recognize lack of potential and how to most wisely use available human resources. Some students may uncover and develop previously hidden talents, while others may learn to more realistically assess their capabilities and to concentrate more effectively on developing whatever skills they can attain.

Competency-based instruction can be applied, with the kinds of adjustments suggested above, to political learning in group contexts. Regardless of the limitations in the instructional paradigm that prompt these adjustments, we believe this approach to teaching has a greater potential than the possible alternatives to develop a wide range of political competencies among large numbers of learners.

The chief value of the competency-based approach is that it helps the instructor to reduce the elements of chance in the learning situation. Each lesson is planned to move learners as efficiently as possible toward achievement of specific outcomes, or competencies. Instructional techniques and materials are selected pointedly to serve the achievement of specific outcomes. Thus, informal learning is minimized and formal learning, the consequence of instructional design, is maximized.

The potential efficiency and effectiveness of competency-based instruction to change the behavior of learners has prompted some critics to raise another set of difficulties. These critics fear that this approach leads inexorably to negative consequences, such as dehumanization, mindless conformity, or dictatorial mind control. These fears may be pertinent to some uses of competency-based instruction and learning, but they are *not* necessarily associated with it. There is nothing inherent in competency-based education that dehumanizes, or that yields passive, conformist types who are geared to the needs of a closed, dictatorial society.

The best way to determine the potential effects of a competency-based system on learners is to examine the instructional objectives which are posited as the valued outcomes of instruction. Competency-based instruction and learning can be employed to achieve various kinds of objectives, which describe competencies that are more or less likely to contribute to development of potential to think and learn independently in ways that benefit the individual and society. For example, competency-based instruction can help learners to master competencies that are trivial and insignificant or profound and relevant; that destroy initiative and creativity or that enhance human potential for independent, divergent thinking; that are geared to keep a society as it is or that equip individuals to initiate and manage change. B.F. Skinner has described very aptly alternative consequences that could flow from the efficient use of a teaching technology, such as our competency-based system of instruction and learning:

> It could well be that a technology of teaching will be unwisely used. It could destroy initiative and creativity; it could make all men alike (and not necessarily in being

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equally excellent). It could suppress the beneficial effect of accidents on the development of the individual and on the evolution of a culture. On the other hand, *it* could maximize the genetic endowment of each student; *it* could make him as skillful, competent, and informed as possible; it could build the greatest diversity of interests; it could lead him to make the greatest possible contribution to the survival and development of his culture.[85]

Examination of the overall course objectives and the instructional strategy of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program reveals the high value placed on higher level cognition and learning, on developing competence to think critically and to practice scientific inquiry. In addition, there is much emphasis on helping students learn to use knowledge and skills to enhance their political potentialities by planning and implementing solutions to political problems. The purpose is to develop the competencies of as many persons as possible to think and learn about politics independently in order to maximize potential to determine and to achieve self-defined political ends. Although the competency-based approach to instruction can be employed to try to make all learners as nearly the same as possible, it can also be used, as we intend, to enhance human potential variously, to develop among as many individuals as possible the potential for self-determination and fulfillment within a group context.

[85]B. F. Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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PART IV.
THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The purpose of a curriculum development project is to create solutions to instructional problems.[86] The instructional problem of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, discussed in Part I, is to produce an alternative to standard high school government courses that can facilitate the achievement of particular political competencies among a broad cross-section of students. The subject matter and pedagogical conceptualizations discussed in Parts II and III are a proposed solution to this instructional problem. Curriculum development, as will be described in Part IV, is a process for transforming our proposed solution into a viable program of instruction.

A. Curriculum Development Tasks

The curriculum development process consists of three main tasks: 1) instructional development; 2) evaluation; and 3) diffusion. The coordinated performance of these tasks involves designing, producing, testing, revising, validating, and installing a solution to an instructional problem. Following is a description of the responsibilities associated with each curriculum development task.

1. *The Instructional Development Task.* The instructional development task is to create instructional procedures (techniques and materials) that fit the subject matter and pedagogical conceptions that have been proposed as means to the solution of the educational problem.[87] The first main step in the performance of this task is to sketch tentatively the various units of instruction that constitute a course and to describe sequentially the lessons which might comprise each unit. This lesson sketching yields a working paper, subject to modification as instructional design occurs, to guide the creation of specific lessons.

The second major step in the performance of the instructional development task is to identify the various categories of lessons sketched in the working paper and to create prototype lessons for each category. The *Comparing Political Experiences* program includes these categories of lessons for which prototypes are to be developed: case studies, self-instructional programs, picture slide-audio tape programs, small group participation experiments, educational games, inquiry skill kits, and participation activities in the school. The purpose of the design of prototype lessons is to create and test with students at least one of each type of lesson in a proposed course. In this manner, defects in the prototypes can be identified and eliminated so that the model lessons can serve as guides to the development of similar lessons.

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[86]Eva L. Baker, "The Technology of Instructional Development," in Robert M. W. Travers (ed.), *Second Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1973, p. 245; Richard E. Schutz, "The Nature of Educational Development," *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 3:2, 1970, pp. 39-40.

[87]Jerrold E. Kemp, *Instructional Design*. Belmont, California: Fearon Publishers, 1971; Leslie J. Briggs, *Handbook of Procedures for the Design of Instruction*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: American Institutes for Research, 1970.

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The third major step in doing the instructional development task is to use tested and revised prototype lessons as guides to the development of an entire course of study. The *Comparing Political Experiences* program, when completed for the first time, must be field tested in a variety of schools to determine the extent to which instructional objectives are attained through use of the course.

On the basis of the field test, the fourth main step of the instructional development task can be accomplished. This step involves the revision of the course of study to eliminate defects uncovered during the field tests. The cycle of field testing and revision continues until the refined product is either validated as a generalizable solution or is scrapped as a failed curriculum development effort.

2. *The Evaluation Task.* Instructional developers must work closely with an evaluator, since the evaluator's central task is to provide evidence which indicates whether the products of the instructional developers are leading to achievement of instructional objectives. In addition, curriculum development project evaluators must be concerned with the worth of the objectives and with the impact of the project as a whole on the educational community. Indeed, the evaluation task pertains to the range of activities encompassed by the curriculum development project. Thus, the evaluation task must be performed continuously throughout the duration of a curriculum development project to provide information to project personnel at every stage of development as a basis for key decisions about how to proceed with project work. And, of course, at the end of the project, evaluation provides grounds for an overall success-failure judgment.[88]

The evaluator works closely with the instructional developers to plan and execute formative evaluation of prototype lessons.[89] For example, assume that the instructional developers have completed a prototype of an inquiry skill kit. The prototype kit is designed to develop elementary sample survey research skills and contains three activities. The first learning activity is a self-instructional program to teach knowledge of sample survey research as a means of inquiry and to develop skills prerequisite to doing this kind of inquiry. For example, through the self-instructional program, students learn how to draw an appropriate sample, how to read and build simple tables and graphs, and how to analyze and frame questions to administer to samples. The second activity is a series of application exercises which students complete in small groups to determine whether they have mastered the knowledge and skills presented via the self-instructional program. The third activity involves acquiring directions and making plans for conducting a sample survey in the school and doing the inquiry as planned.

In order to conduct formative evaluation, during both the prototype and full-course testing phases, the projector evaluator must seek answers to these key questions:

1. What kinds of evidence must be gathered to identify strengths and deficiences in instructional procedures?
2. How can this evidence be gathered?
3. How can hypotheses about the revision of instructional materials be derived from this evidence?

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[88]Egon G. Guba and John J. Hovat, "Evaluation During Development," Viewpoints, *Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, 46:2, 1970, pp. 21-46; Michael Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," in R.W. Tyler, R.M. Gagne, and M. Scriven (eds.), *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967, pp. 39-83.

[89]*Ibid.*, pp. 40-44.

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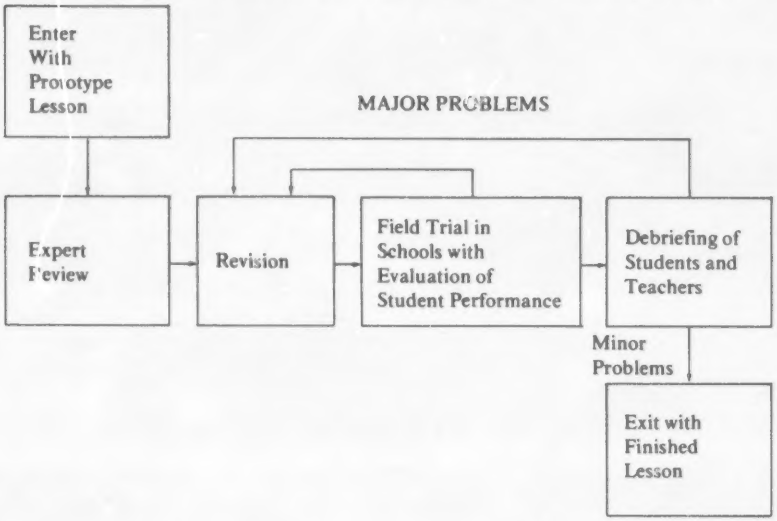
DIAGRAM 7: FORMATIVE EVALUATION OF PROTOTYPE LESSONS[90]



To answer these questions, the evaluator has certain needs for information, to be used as evidence, which might be classified as internal, external, and contextual.[91] Diagram 8 shows what these three main categories comprise.

Internal information is gained by examining the instructional procedures to be used with students. The purpose is to determine the face validity of the content and design of the instructional product. This information can be derived through inspection of the instructional products and through soliciting critical appraisals of the products from instructional developers, various types of expert consultants, teachers, and students.

External information is gained through study of the impact of the product on the behavior of students and teachers and on the culture of the school. During both the prototype and full-course phases of formative evaluation, evidence must be gathered about the extent to which students are achieving instructional objectives and why students are, or are not, performing satisfactorily. In addition, during the full-course field trial of *Comparing Political Experiences*, it is especially important for the evaluator to examine the impact of the course on the political climate of the various types of schools that serve as test sites. One can presume that the political participation component of the course will have various impacts on schools with different types of organizational structures and political climates. Knowledge about these effects can be a valuable aid to the instructional designers in refining the course and to school administrators and teachers who are deciding whether or not to use the course.

The contextual information needs of the evaluator refer to the conditions under which the instructional product is supposed to function. The purpose is to test assumptions about the contexts of instruction within which the instructional product can

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[90]Diagram 7 is adapted from Allan J. Abedore, "Second Draft Technology: Development and Field Test of a Model of Self-Instructional Multi-Media Learning Systems," *Viewpoints, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, 48:4, 1972, p. 21.

[91]Donald J. Cunningham, *Classification of Information Needs in Formative and Summative Evaluation*, Bloomington, Indiana: Institute for Child Study at Indiana University, 1971, pp. 6-15.

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function effectively. For example. can one assume that teachers who know little or nothing about the subject matter ot comparative politics will be able to use the *Comparing Political Experiences* program successfully? Can the program be used successfully with students of varying academic potential? Can the program function successfully in schools with various types of political climates? Or should the course only be used in schools which have a political climate with a participant orientation? Through systematic gathering of evidence about the relationship between contexts of instruction and the use of *Comparing Political Experiences*, especially during the full-

DIAGRAM 8: A CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION NEEDS IN EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTIONAL PRODUCTS [92]

I. INTERNAL INFORMATION	II. EXTERNAL INFORMATION
A. DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION 1. Physical Specifications 2. Goals and Objectives 3. Content 4. Pedagogy	A. ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS ON STUDENT PERFORMANCE 1. Knowledge 2. Intellectual Skills 3. Participation Skills 4. Attitudes
B. CRITICAL APPRAISAL 1. By Instructional Developers 2. By Expert Consultants 3. By Student Users 4. By Teacher Users	B. ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS ON TEACHERS 1. Teaching Competence 2. Teaching Style 3. Commitment and Interest
	C. ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS ON THE SCHOOL 1. Administrators 2. Teachers Not Using the Course 3. Students Not Using the Course 4. Political Climate of the School

III. CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION

A. CONDITIONS OF LEARNING IN THE CLASSROOM
1. Student Characteristics
2. Teacher Characteristics
3. Educational Climate of the Classroom

B. CONDITIONS OF LEARNING OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM
1. Characteristics of Relevant Administrators
2. Characteristics of Relevant Other Teachers
3. Socio-political Climate of the School
4. Characteristics of the Community Outside the School

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 23-24. Diagram 8 is adapted from a similar diagram created by Donald J. Cunningham.

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course formative evaluation, the project evaluator can provide answers to many questions about the viability of the program under varying learning conditions.

After assisting the development of an instructional product through formative evaluation, which meets all product specifications, the evaluator should conduct a *summative evalua ion*, which is an overall final evaluation of an instructional product. The primary purpose of summative evaluation is to produce information about the worth of an instructional product that can help potential consumers decide whether or not to install the product.[93] The informational needs of a summative evaluation study are the same as those specified for formative evaluation in Diagram 8, and the central task of summative and formative evaluation is the same — to produce evidence about the strengths and weaknesses of an instructional product under different conditions. However, the purposes are different in that formative evaluation aids the curriculum development project team to refine the instructional product to the point where it can be hypothesized that the product is a generalizable solution to the instructional problem that has prompted the project team's work; and summative evaluation is a test of the hypothesis that the instructional product has been developed sufficiently to function as a generalizable solution.

When conducting both formative and summative evaluation studies, the project evaluator needs to take the broadest possible view of how to gather and use evidence to aid the curriculum development process. Subjective, impressionistic types of evidence should be used along with the more objective evidence that is generated by rigorous scientific studies. For example, the opinions of teachers and students about the value of the instructional product should be solicited and taken seriously. And unobtrusive measures of student and teacher beliefs and feelings about the experimental course should be employed along with the more standard types of measures. Gauging the impact of the new course on the political climates of schools presents a particularly difficult evaluational task which calls for a combination of psychometric and participant-observer skills.[94]

The derivation of hypotheses about how to revise instructional materials from evidence gathered through evaluational procedures is a slippery endeavor. It is much easier to describe the deficiencies of an instructional product than it is to determine why it is deficient. Nevertheless, pinpointing as fully as possible the reasons for breakdowns in procedures of instruction is necessary to successful curriculum development.

The evaluator, in concert with instructional developers, must comb the evidence yielded by evaluation studies to find clues about how to remedy deficiencies. However, to a considerable extent, artful hunches, intuition, and insight must be relied upon to formulate hypotheses from this evidence about how to improve instruction. For example, patterns of erroneous student responses to paper-and-pencil tests is one source of clues about how to revise instructional procedures. When a majority of students respond incorrectly, in the same way, to a set of test items, attention is drawn to the instructional procedures designed to teach the competency measured by the items. Examination of these particular procedures might prompt an insight that results in hypotheses about what is wrong and how to correct the deficiency. As another example, clues about revision of instruction might be obtained from systematic observation of student performances in role play exercises or in participation activities in the school and from

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[93]Michael Scriven, *op. cit.*

[94]Ivor K. Davies and Thomas M. Schwen, "Some Process Concerns About Formative Evaluation," *Viewpoints, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, 48:4, 1972, pp. 1-8.

analysis of tape recordings of debriefing sessions which follow various kinds of simulated or real participation activities. However, the move from these clues to hypotheses about how to improve instruction is a large inferential leap.

The instructional style of the proposed *Comparing Political Experiences* program should facilitate efforts to determine the impact of the instructional product on student performance and to formulate hypotheses about how to improve instructional procedures. As described in Part III, there is a great emphasis in the pedagogy of the new course on lessons that require transfer of learning. And achievement assessment through application exercises and formative tests, which require both specific and general transfer of learning, will be built into every set of lessons of the course. It is expected that the project evaluator will contribute substantially to the design of these application exercises and will play a leading part in the interpretation of student responses to these lessons.

3. *The Diffusion Task.* A diffusion specialist is the link between a curriculum project team and the larger educational community that the work of the project is intended to serve. Through this linkage, the diffusion specialist is supposed to communicate with interested colleagues and potential consumers about the work of the curriculum project and to transmit feedback from this larger community of educators to the project team. The purpose of this communication flow is to facilitate the installation, and the eventual institutionalization, of the educational changes that the curriculum project team aims to develop.

The typical model of the curriculum development process shows diffusion to be a stage that follows the design and testing of an instructional product. In contrast, we believe that diffusion activities should begin with the launching of a project, especially if the project aims to produce a highly innovative product, which requires a very significant change in the way the client group is required to perform. Since the *Comparing Political Experiences* program will require some very different, even possibly threatening, instructional practices, we believe that diffusion efforts must be aimed at creating a readiness, even an excitement, for the innovation. These diffusion efforts should involve minimizing anxiety associated with using highly innovative instructional practices and establishing positive political climates that will support innovative instruction for political learning.

Various types of activities and roles must be performed in order to accomplish the project's diffusion task. Presentations of information about the *Comparing Political Experiences* program must be made at meetings of professional associations, such as the National Council for the Social Studies, the American Political Science Association, and the American Educational Research Association. Demonstrations of instructional materials and discussion of the project rationale must be presented to in-service meetings for school teachers and administrators. Articles about project activities must be written for different publications read by various members of the educational community.

The project diffusion specialist must be a liaison between teachers and administrators in the field test schools and other members of the curriculum development project team. He must coordinate field test activities so that the instructional product can be fairly and sufficiently evaluated and revised. Finally, the diffusion specialist must map a strategy that leads to installation of the project's instructional product in many schools across the country. The ultimate goal is to institutionalize the product, to firmly establish it as an ongoing program. Of course, this facet of a diffusion specialist's role would only be performed if evidence from field testing indicates the viability of the curriculum development project's work.

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The preceding descriptions did not include any "recipes" for successful task performance. Unfortunately there is no "yellow-brick road" that leads easily and certainly to the creation of viable instructional products. Rather, a complex blend of discipline, technical skill, flexibility, and artistry is required to master the challenges associated with each curriculum development task.

B. Development Schedule

Careful planning facilitates curriculum development. The curriculum development schedule, illustrated by Diagram 9, is a rough five-year plan — subject to modification as work continues — for performing the tasks necessary to the creation of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.

As shown by Diagram 9, the first year of the project was used to conceptualize the project, to establish an organization and procedures for performing essential curriculum development tasks, and to plan for the development and field testing of prototype instructional procedures. Planning for instructional development consisted of completing lesson sketches, in proposed sequence, for the first semester of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, and of identifying prototype lessons to be developed. Planning for the formative evaluation of the prototype lessons consisted of selecting a few high schools to serve as field test sites. These high schools do not expect us to supply them with a total instructional program during this first field test year. Rather, they will continue to offer their regular program of study but will permit us to intervene into their programs for short periods, as our needs dictate throughout the year.

We selected these high schools among many candidates according to the following criteria: 1) We wanted some high schools that were close to Bloomington, thereby providing us with quick, easy access; 2) We wanted a few high schools scattered across different regions of the nation, thereby alerting the staff to regional variations in the social climate and instructional patterns of schools while contributing to the diffusion of the project's work on a national scale; 3) We wanted large and small schools; inner-city, suburban, and small town high schools; and schools that have a variety of racially and ethnically mixed populations; 4) We wanted schools that were flexible, open, and eager to try new ideas; and 5) We wanted schools that represented various types of organizational structures and political cultures. For example, we have identified, in Part II, four types of political systems that can be found at different levels of political life from the local through international levels. These system types are: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant. We have selected a sample of field test schools that not only meet the demographic kinds of criteria described above, but also fit each of the political system types that are fundamental to the *Comparing Political Experiences* program.

The importance of the "political system type" variable is very great. We are seeking to intervene in schools with a new kind of political education program that will use the entire school. We cannot predict the consequences such a program will have on the school, but it must have some effect. A task of the evaluator for the project will be to map the effects of the program in the various types of schools. Unless we have some criteria for analyzing why the effects vary across school types, we will have no basis for making predictions to those school officials who express an interest in the program. For example, we should be able to say to a principal: *Comparing Political Experiences* had these effects in Type A schools, these other effects in Type B schools, and so on. If you have a type B school, you may expect the program will have the following consequences for your school.

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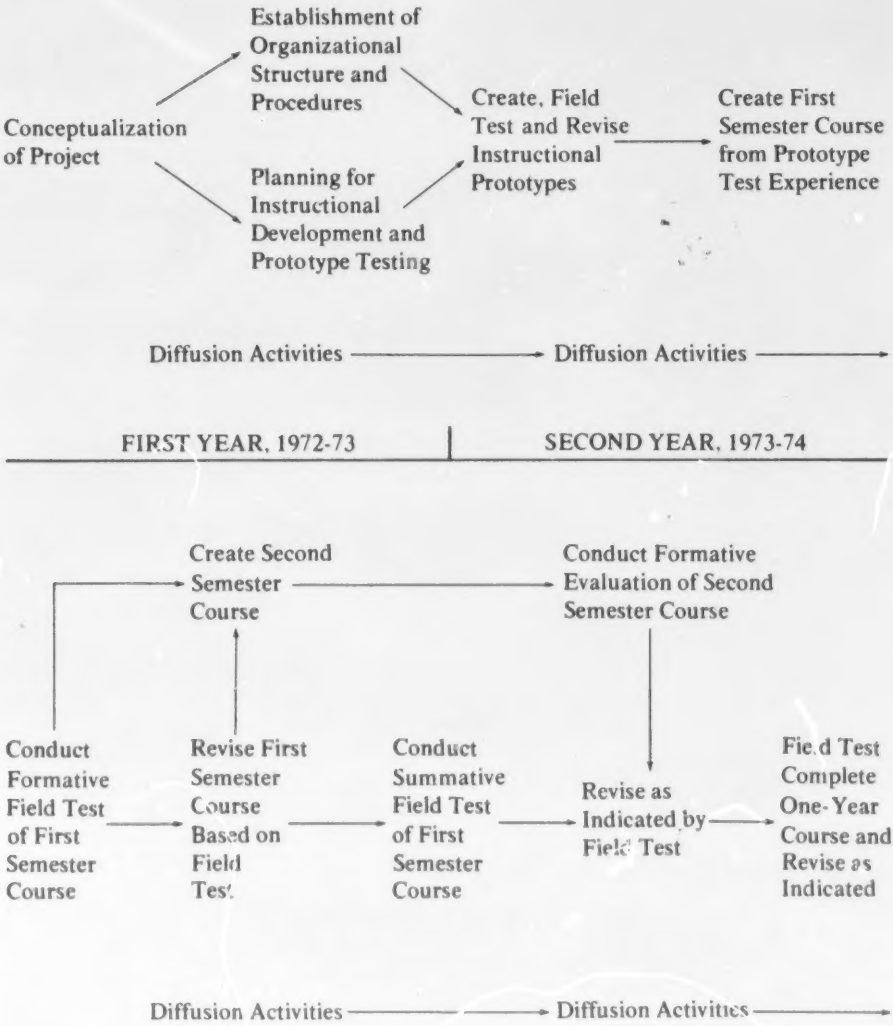
DIAGRAM 9: DEVELOPMENT SCHEDULE, 1972-1977


Establishment of Organizational Structure and Procedures
Conceptualization of Project
Planning for Instructional Development and Prototype Testing
Create, Field Test and Revise Instructional Prototypes
Create First Semester Course from Prototype Test Experience
Diffusion Activities
Diffusion Activities
FIRST YEAR, 1972-73
SECOND YEAR, 1973-74
Create Second Semester Course
Conduct Formative Evaluation of Second Semester Course
Conduct Formative Field Test of First Semester Course
Revise First Semester Course Based on Field Test
Conduct Summative Field Test of First Semester Course
Revise as Indicated by Field Test
Field Test Complete One-Year Course and Revise as Indicated
Diffusion Activities
Diffusion Activities
THIRD YEAR, 1974-75
FOURTH YEAR, 1975-76
FIFTH YEAR, 1976-77

In keeping with our view, expressed earlier, about the primary importance of the diffusion task in curriculum development, several diffusion activities were performed during the first year of the development schedule. Five articles about project activities and ideas were written for publication. And the project team made appearances to discuss the conceptualization of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program before groups of teachers and social scientists at seventeen meetings of professional associations.

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The second year of the project, as shown in Diagram 9, is when the design and formative evaluation of prototype lessons occur. These prototypes are basic to the overall instructional design, but the efficacy of these lessons is undetermined. For example, the project team expects to develop a number of small group activity lessons that will enable students to learn certain basic political participation skills, such as bargaining or leadership. We have not developed such lessons in the past and do not have any models to follow that fit our needs exactly. Therefore, we shall have to create prototype lessons to teach political participation skills, try them out in the schools, and undoubtedly revise them many times before they prove useful. After a particular prototype lesson has been demonstrated to work satisfactorily, we can design additional lessons for similar purposes more efficiently.

The requirement that the school itself serve the program as a laboratory opens up enormous problems for the developer and calls for prototype development and testing. Suppose we wish to examine leadership patterns among school organizations. We shall have to identify and select behavior settings which are relevant to course instruction from a wide range of possible school organizations. The instructional activities will then have to be fit into the ongoing political life of each of these settings so that the program can be effective without completely disrupting the continuous functioning of each organization. Clearly , these types of matches must be tested in schools before a full scale testing of a course is undertaken.

Another important test of the program involves determining the soundness of different types of linkages between inquiry and action activities. A central assumption of the program is that systematic political knowledge can be effectively linked to participation activity in the school, thereby enabling students to put knowledge to use in practical everyday settings. Therefore, selected segments of the program will need to be tested to determine how systematic instruction can meaningfully and effectively link these activities. For example, a short set of lessons on political influence could be developed which would provide conceptual knowledge and generalizations, would develop analytical and participation skills, and would offer several participation activities as applications. This set of lessons could provide a test of the strength of possible linkages between inquiry and action.

Many parts of the instructional program do not require prototype testing. For example, on the basis of many years of prior experience as instructional developers, members of the staff are confident that they can write interesting case studies and linking narration that will teach effectively. Therefore, the picture the reader should have in mind regarding one aspect of year two activities is of regular and systematic testing of fragments of the instructional program, about which the staff requires demonstrated evidence of their effects on students before these elements can become adopted into the total program.

It is important to note that no single school will be asked to test all of the prototypes. A typical practice would be to test a prototype in one school, then revise it and test it in another, revise it again, and test the revised prototype in a third school. By the third time, hopefully, most of the problems would be resolved so that it could be included in the instructional program for formative field testing in 1974-75.

Running parallel to prototype development and testing during the second year of project activity will be the creation of a complete first semester component of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program. As pointed out earlier, many segments of the program can be created without prototype testing; other segments will require a number of trials before they can be included in the package. And, of course, a full range of diffusion activities is planned to inform colleagues about project efforts and to build

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support, if warranted by field test results, for project work. Thus, the project team will appear on the program of various educational organizations and will write articles about project work for publication in various journals to reach several different audiences. Equally important, we will undertake efforts to make contacts and build collaboration with other organizations, while strengthening ties with those groups with whom we work presently.

During the third year of the project we plan to conduct a formative field test of the first semester of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program in several schools. The program will include all of the instructional materials for students and guides for teachers that are necessary to make the program function successfully. We hope to use many of the schools that assisted us during year two with prototype lesson development and to add a few schools to our field testing program.

As the final product of the high school project is a *two*-semester program, it is important to explain why a one-semester package is being developed and tested initially. First of all, the realities of the school require that the project develop a one-semester program that could stand alone. In many schools, American government is a one-semester course. Therefore, our first effort must be directed at creating a well-orchestrated, comprehensive, and sequential program that can be used as a one-semester alternative to existing courses in American government. Second, while we shall later develop a second semester component to accompany the first, the second semester of the program must be linked to what transpires during the first semester. The second semester of the program builds an in-depth understanding of the common political experiences of political maintenance, change, development, and conflict based on the concepts and generalizations developed during the first semester. The ways in which these linkages are established depend on what specific materials are covered in the first semester. In addition, the development of continuous and effective participant roles for students will be intimately tied to the ways in which participation activities are developed in the first semester. Thus, until the first semester has been tested and revised, it seems foolish to devote undue attention to the specific development of the second semester material. Incidentally, the use of a one-semester program has certain built-in efficiencies. The pilot schools that offer *Comparing Political Experiences* during the first semester of 1974-1975 can offer it during the second semester to a new group of students. Thus, we will be able to gain two complete field trials during the first year of formative field testing.

The initial design of the second semester component of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program is scheduled to occur during the third year and is to be done concurrently with the formative field testing of the first semester course. It is expected that experience gained in developing the first semester course can be relied upon heavily to guide the design of the second semester program. The formative field test of the first semester of *Comparing Political Experiences* provides the basis for revision in preparation for summative testing, which occurs during the fourth year of the project. After minor revisions, which are indicated by the summative evaluation, the first semester course should be considered as essentially finished. Also scheduled to occur during the fourth year of the project is formative evaluation and revision of the second semester course.

During the fifth year of the project, the completed one-year course can be field tested and revised as indicated by evaluation studies. Assuming that the field test results indicate the basic worth of the instructional product, the diffusion specialist will strive, during years four and five, to build widespread interest in and support for the

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Comparing Political Experiences program which results in the publication and extensive use of the materials in high schools across the country.

As described here, the curriculum development process requires extensive inquiry about the worth of a proposed generalizable solution to a significant educational problem. Through systematic empirical investigation the grounds are established for judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of instructional procedures in terms of particular goals and objectives of instruction; and clues are provided about how to refine the instructional procedures to eliminate, or at least minimize, deficiencies. This empirically-based approach to curriculum development yields finally a success-failure judgment. If the instructional procedures are considered worthwhile then the conditions for successful use are specified.

This approach to curriculum development is painstaking and time-consuming and demands the artful coordination and blending of diverse personalities and talents. The initial cost in resource expenditure is high. However, when this type of effort succeeds, the potential educational benefits are extraordinarily high. Indeed, this type of curriculum development effort has been applied to the production of some of the most innovative and highly regarded new courses in science, mathematics, and social science for high school youth. We hope to add *Comparing Political Experiences* to the list of highly regarded educational innovations which systematic, empirically-based curriculum development has spawned.

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CONCLUSION

The conceptualization of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program blends ideas from these sources: the "new social studies" curriculum project movement of the 1960's; prominent criticisms of this movement; innovations of social studies educators not associated with the project movement; and curriculum development projects in fields other than the social studies. The program's conceptual structure, drawn from political science, and the goal of developing intellectual skills associated with social science inquiry, are rooted firmly in the project movement of the preceding decade. The program's emphasis on value judgment analysis, group dynamics, and political participation reflect both important criticisms of the "new social studies," 1960's vintage, and instructional reforms that originated among social studies educators outside the project movement. The program's instructional paradigm is based extensively on concepts developed by curriculum projects in fields outside the social studies. However, the combination of these diverse strands, as proposed here, is a unique amalgamation designed to maintain the strengths of recent curriculum reforms in social studies while attempting to remedy major shortcomings.

Ostensibly the program conceptualization has potential for spawning a viable alternative to high school government courses. It is also reasonable to speculate that a practicable alternative course could someday become exceedingly popular and widely used. In addition, it is plausible to believe that a successful *Comparing Political Experiences* program might have significance that extends far beyond the achievement of vastly improved political education for older adolescents. If the program really works, if students do demonstrate high level achievement of political competencies, what could be the general impact on theory and practice in the social studies? Following is a discussion of six possibilities for changes in social studies education that might come about as a result of this curriculum development project.

First, our proposed program might influence arguments about what constitutes relevant learning in the social studies for adolescents in high school. We agree with colleagues who claim that adolescents are concerned about interpersonal competence and value judgments. Thus we share their belief that development of skills and standards to guide and possibly improve human behavior in groups is relevant, that acquisition of these kinds of competencies could enhance potential to formulate and achieve personal and group goals. However, in contrast to some social studies educators, we believe that academic formulations contribute substantially to the achievement of competence in establishing warrants for value judgments and in human relations. In particular, we hypothesize that social science concepts and inquiry skills can facilitate effective political decision-making and participation. The successful implementation of our comparative politics course could buttress this hypotheses about the qualities of relevant learning in the social studies, and could augment the position of social science in high school curricula.

Second, the connection between social science knowledge, political decision-making, and participation, which is a central feature of our subject matter and instructional conceptualization, might provide the basis for the creation of improved procedures for teaching value judgment analysis. Various social studies "gurus" have been calling for

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increased attention to "values education." However, instructional theory and practice have lagged far behind exhortation and good intentions in this extremely important, but underdeveloped, area of the social studies. Current instructional practice seems to offer students little help in making discriminations among complex alternative viewpoints pertinent to a highly controversial issue. And current theory about "values education" in the social studies does not demonstrate how knowledge and analytic skill might be interlaced to help students find warrants for their value judgments.

To be fully successful, our curriculum project team must invent procedures to teach students how to use findings of social science in combination with analytic skills to formulate and justify value judgments. Even partial success in meeting this extremely difficult challenge could point the way to improvement in this highly regarded, but poorly practiced, aspect of the social studies.

Third, the viability of the participation facet of our program could influence opinions about how to most effectively achieve learning through extra-class activity. Many social studies educators dichotomize activity-oriented programs and academic social studies courses. Those who favor social learning through student participation in community affairs have tended to minimize the relevance of academic endeavor in the classroom. Those who oppose community-based social studies programs have tended to view this approach as tainted with "radical chic" and/or anti-intellectualism. Thus, the integration of solid academic learning with learning through participation in social contexts outside the classroom has been largely unexplored.

However, a central hypothesis of our curriculum development work is that a symbiotic relationship meshes the learning of knowledge and intellectual skills to learning by doing in social groupings. This hypothesis is supported by the twin assumptions that: 1) students are likely to learn more effectively and to behave more responsibly if they are able to reflect upon the sources and consequences of their actions; and that, 2) acquisition of social science knowledge and inquiry skills enhances ability to ponder human interactions insightfully. Empirical support for our hypothesis about links between the academic and activist bases of political learning, which could result from field testing of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, might lead to the creation of several courses that blend social science and social action in areas of the social studies other than civics or government.

The use of the school as the context of participation activities could produce a *fourth* possibility for change in the social studies. Presently, the social and political life of the school is a largely untapped reservoir of opportunities to increase systematically student knowledge of social behavior and skill in human relations. We hypothesize that the application of instruction to the extra-classroom realm of the school can yield high formal learning payoffs while improving the quality of human interaction in the school. If this hypothesis is buttressed through the development of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program, it is likely that the use of the school as a social learning laboratory might be extended throughout the social studies curricula of many schools.

Our formulation of competency-based instruction for political learning represents a *fifth* possibility for influencing social studies theory and practice. Variants of this instructional paradigm have been fundamental to recent curriculum reforms in natural science, mathematics, and industrial arts, but there is little precedent for competency-based instruction in the social studies. We are aware of only one 1960's social studies curriculum project that used even a few main elements of the competency-based approach.

Social studies educators have tended either to ignore competency-based instruction or to oppose it as inappropriate to their subject matter. In contrast, we believe that this

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approach can be adapted to fit the distinctive qualities of the social studies, and that no alternative model of instruction offers equivalent potential to facilitate mastery of knowledge and skills. If the field trials of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program demonstrate the applicability of our pedagogical formulation to political learning, then competency-based instruction might be viewed with greater interest by social studies educators.

Sixth, our overarching educational goal, development of competencies that promote social self-fulfillment, is a significant departure from tradition in social studies education. For over half a century, development of democratic citizenship has been posited as the desired outcome of teaching the social studies. However, we believe this traditional goal to be indefensible on the grounds that it is largely unattainable, that it represents a static, limiting outcome, and that it is parochially tied to one political ideology associated with particular socio-economic conditions. In contrast, we want social studies educators to be seeking educational goals and philosophical justifications that can be advanced effectively through instruction in schools, that symbolize the dynamic variability of human potential, and that might apply to various known socio-economic conditions as well as to unforeseen developments. Thus, a very significant result of the diffusion of our curriculum development products could be the stimulation of efforts to re-think traditional goals and assumptions and to formulate new norms and rationales for the social studies.

The conceptualization of the *Comparing Political Experiences* program is bound to be controversial. Some may view the proposed program as promising, or even exciting, in its potential for altering the future of social studies education. Others may make negative evaluations. Thus, the sparking of productive dialogue and debate among social studies educators should be among the most important consequences of this curriculum project. Through the process of curriculum development, we plan to conduct inquiries that can enrich the dialogue, settle some of the arguments, and raise significant new questions.

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